

14.25 hrs.

MOTION RE: RISE IN THE PRICES OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE
(Rajapur): I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its concern at the continuing rise in the prices of essential commodities including sugar and urges upon the Government to take effective steps to curb the price rise."

In this very House on the 27th March, 1980, I had initiated a debate under rule 184 on this very subject. So, I would not like to cover the ground that I had covered during that debate. Therefore, consciously and deliberately I shall restrict my observations to the situation in the new financial year starting from 1st April, 1980.

It is customary to make a reference to the wholesale price indices with 1970-71 as the base year. If we try to take into account the various wholesale price indices and the corresponding rise with the base as 1970-71, the prices would be exorbitant. I do not propose to resort to the exercise. I would like to take the prices in October and compare them with those at the beginning of the new financial year, namely 1st April, 1980.

On 21st November, 1980, the Finance Minister, while replying to starred Question No. 68 in this very House regarding essential commodities and the rise in the prices of those commodities had given a statement in which he had indicated how the wholesale price index had increased from April to October. For the sake of illustration, I would like to take a few important commodities which are of vital importance from the point of view of the Standard of living of the common people. I have tried to work out on the basis of the very statement made by the Finance Minister, the percentage of increase in the prices of certain essential commodities.

As far as sugar is concerned, from April to October the percentage of increase in the price is 12, in khansari, 48, in gur 76, in mustard oil 21, in cocoanut oil 21, in jowar 12, in bajra 11, in wheat 7, and in rice 6. You will agree that these are the commodities which are considered by the common people as essential for their lives, and on the basis of the statement made by the hon. Finance Minister in this House, you will find that this is the extent of rise that has been actually registered from April to October. As far as the inflation in the country is concerned, the situation is extremely dangerous. I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister and through you the entire House that I am afraid we, in 1980, are likely to go back to the inflationary dangerous situation in pre-emergency era. Those of us who have seen the pre-emergency days and studied the economic problems of pre-emergency era, will realise what a dangerous period of inflation it was. It is not proper that we pick up indices only week by week. I would like that our knowledgeable Finance Minister will not commit the mistake of just picking up sample of price of only a few weeks and a few days and try to remain satisfied with one particular week—that there has been a check in inflation or check in the prices of commodities. It is always better to take a wider span and try to find out how the inflationary situation is changing. As an illustration I would like to place before the House three important periods—two financial years before emergency. I would like to take up two financial years when the new regime came after the emergency and I would like to take up a period which is a continuing period right from 1979 upto October because the latest figure for November is not available. You will bear me out on what exactly I have been saying—that we are again entering into the inflationary period of pre-emergency era. In 1973-74 and 1974-75 the average rate of inflation is of the

order of 22.5 per cent. When the Janata Party came to power and Janata rule was there—it is not because I am in the Janata Party that I am referring to that, but it is just a logical culmination of certain situation; in 1977-78 and 1978-79 the inflation had come down to 2.5 percent and again in 1979-80 (there it is split up) from April 1980 to October the inflation rate is 20.4 per cent and in earlier period in 1979 it is 17 per cent. If you take the average it is 18.5 per cent. That is the rate of inflation.

I want to warn the House and through you I want to warn the Government that again we are trying to enter the pre-emergency era which was a dangerous era of inflation when the rate of inflation was 22.5 per cent and to-day we are having a rate of inflation which is 20.4 per cent. We are approximating to the dangerous period. It is necessary when we discuss the problem of rising prices and inflation, we should know what exactly are the causes. One of the important causes is, of course, the question of deficit financing. The set argument that is very often made by the spokesman of the Government is because our import oil bill has gone up there has been a certain inflationary pressure. I do concede in one of my questions put to Shri Veerendra Patil who was then holding that portfolio, now a days portfolios are very dynamic and now his portfolio has changed.—

(Interruptions)

I am a student of Physics. I know what is fluidity and what is dynamism.

I am a student of Physics. I know year the oil import bill will be increasing from Rs. 3000 crores to Rs. 5000 crores. He had already introduced certain increase in petroleum products because of increase in price of petrol and diesel. Because of increase in naphtha price, there will be increase in the price of fertilizer, thereby putting new burdens on the

Kisan. We are requiring certain inputs in the form of petroleum products, in the form of fertilizers, in the form of diesel. Besides, Railway also require diesel for diesel traction. As a result of that sometimes, an impression is given that this is a general inflationary pressure and tremendous rise in the inflationary pressure is due to the crude oil inflation. Technical exercises have clearly established the fact that the contributory factor of crude oil inflation to the general inflation in the country is never more than of the order of 2 to 3 per cent. So, the rise in prices of crude oil and petroleum products would account for only 2 to 3 per cent contribution towards the general rise in prices and the general inflationary pressure.

More important than that is actually the deficit financing in the Budget. As far as the projected deficit financing is concerned, I would not repeat all those arguments. The hon. Finance Minister said, "in my Budget I have actually projected only a deficit of the order of Rs. 1,470 crores." I am not a pessimist and I am not an alarmist. But for various economic reasons, I dare say, I am afraid—I am not very happy about it, I am sure, the Finance Minister will not be happy about it—though he has projected in the Budget for 1980-81 the deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1470 crores, I will not be surprised and he should not be shocked if at the end of the financial year, the deficit financing reaches the order of Rs. 3000 crores. That is possible. I will be very happy if I am proved to be wrong. There are occasions on which one is extremely happy if one is proved to be wrong. For instance, if we were proved to be wrong that the Emergency was coming, probably we would have been extremely happy. But, unfortunately, we proved to be correct. And the Emergency did come in. So, I must tell you that the deficit financing is going to be of that much order.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

As far as the contributory factors to deficit financing are concerned, let us try to find out which are the important factors.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Both things need not happen. What you said about Emergency need not happen about inflation or deficit financing.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I will be very happy if your prediction comes to be true.

As far as the contributory factors to various deficits are concerned, I was just trying to go through the Sixth Plan frame. I am not giving any figures from economic journals. I am picking up the figures from the Sixth Plan frame. The Sixth Plan frame itself has mentioned that as far as the public sector is concerned, in 1979-80, the loss is of the order of Rs. 300 crores. I, committed to the philosophy of socialism, believe that the public sector represents commanding heights of our economy and, therefore, it would be extremely necessary to see that the public sector is made extremely efficient, we must try to mop up more surpluses, plough them back for the expansion of the public sector and, whatever achievements are there, we should be able to utilise them for the public welfare. That is the social aspect of the public sector which is not there in the private sector, by and large. Therefore, I want that the public sector should function well. But the Sixth Plan frame itself has indicated that the loss may be of the order of Rs. 300 crores.

What about the losses of the State Governments in the form of power, irrigation, transport and overdrafts? If you take all that into account, it is estimated that the losses will be of the order of Rs. 800 crores. Therefore, if you take both together, the loss will be about Rs. 1100 crores. That will be a contributory factor to the deficit. I am afraid, unless proper steps are taken—of course, a Com-

mittee has been appointed to study the working of the public sector—unless those who are committed to the working of the public sector are asked to manage the public sector, it will not be possible for us to see that the public sector becomes efficient, it becomes more effective and it is able to mop up proper surpluses.

Then, the failure to hold the price line has created a vicious circle—more inflation, more prices, wholesale price index going up and, as a result of that, dearness allowance instalments increasing. That means more non-developmental expenditure of the Government and a gap between the productive activity and the money supply and, as a result of that, you will find there will be more inflation and more rise in prices. The trade unionists are not very happy to demand more dearness allowance. In fact, the demand of those who are working in the working class movement is not to give us more dearness allowance but to create conditions by which we will not be required to demand dearness allowance. Therefore, this vicious circle has to be broken. But, unfortunately, that vicious circle is continuing and, as a result of that, in the Sixth Plan frame—I again collected this—they have projected or envisaged a deficit of the order of Rs. 4000 crores in the course of the Sixth Five Year Plan. That means, on an average it will be Rs. 800 crores, besides the factors which are not predictable at all and, therefore, this factor also has to be taken note of.

There is another factor regarding investments and credit. Though for commercial sectors the credit expansion has been reduced, (I have no grouse about it, but am happy about it), for Government and its agencies it has increased by 42 per cent. The credit has increased by 42 per cent. This, again, is a very important factor and, when the financial year closes, I am rather afraid and am frightened that, probably, the restraint on the

growth of money supply will completely break down. If it completely breaks down, in that case the inflationary pressure on our economy will increase tremendously and, as a result of that, you will find that tremendous difficulties will be created. Ultimately, the price level depends on the level of money supply and also the net output of the country—the national output—and we must succeed on both these fronts. We should try to see that the money supply does not increase beyond a particular range. There are a number of economists who have come to the conclusion that, for the stability of our economy, we should not allow our money supply to rise at a rate higher than 5 per cent per year. I am not sure whether that will be possible but, ultimately, it is the ratio between the money supply and the national output that decides the price level. We find the money supply increasing and, again, we find that in various factories production is not properly taking place. The public sector has not been properly managed and, as a result of that, I am afraid that inflationary pressures will be further generated.

As far as this aspect is concerned, I would like to point out one more contributory factor. Since I have referred to that factor more than once, I will not go into the details, but I am provoked to refer to that aspect because the other day, on 21st November, while replying to Starred Qn. No. 60 on Sales-tax, the Finance Minister was asked one supplementary question as to what is the estimated black-money in the country. If my memory does not fail me—my memory is not very good but my memory is not very bad either—I remember very well that the Finance Minister specifically said that it was not possible for him to estimate the extent of black-money in the country. A knowledgeable person like the Finance Minister saying it was not possible for him to find out a rough estimate of black money is something which is surprising. (*Interruptions*).

Rao Saheb, I know you will be disturbed, but have patience and listen to me.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND IRRIGATION (SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO): How can he know how much you have got?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: About that, everyone knows because the day I resigned my Ministership, or the next day, to the President of the country, to the Prime Minister of the country, to the Leader of the Opposition, to Shri Jayaprakash Narain, to Acharya Kripalani, I submitted a full statement of my accounts as to what is my property and also the property of my wife. The next day after my resignation, I did that. (*Interruptions*).

So, I was pointing out to you that I was rather surprised and I had a feeling that, as far as the Finance Minister is concerned, when he said that it was not possible for him to estimate the extent of black money, it was a slip of his tongue because the entire Wanchoo Committee undertook this exercise and, if you go through the Report of the Wanchoo Committee you will find that there is a chapter on black money where they have indicated also the method by which they estimated the black money. They utilised the Kaldor method by which they divided the entire national income into two segments—non-salaried income and salaried income. As far as salaried income is concerned, since income-tax is deducted directly, the question does not arise. Non-salaried income can be split up into various segments like hotels, engineering, banking, transport etc. We have a rough percentage of what is the segment of that particular component above the exemption limit, and we can work out what is the assessable income of all these sectors together and also the various authorities of the Government. We can find out what is the actual assessed income

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

From the payment of taxes, and the difference between the two will be able to provide you the unaccounted money—the unaccounted black income and the unaccounted black money. Since the income velocity is of the order of five, whenever one rupee happens to be that rupee, when it is invested, a number of transactions repeat themselves and the money value of the total black money involved in all the transactions is five times the unaccounted money. This is how in 1968-69 they estimated the extent of black money. It was found that in 1968-69 it was Rs. 400 crores and the money value of this involved Rs. 7000 crores. All this has been mentioned in the Wanchoo Committee Report. I cannot believe that our knowledgeable Finance Minister had not read the Wanchoo Committee Report and that he is not conscious of the Kaldor method.

This black money economy has almost become a parallel economy. I remember that when my colleague Shri Y. B. Chavan was the Finance Minister he often used to describe black money economy as a parallel economy in this country. He said this is the economy whose backbone had to be broken. I do not know whether they can undertake radical measures like demonitisation, but I may warn them that demonitisation, by itself, will fail unless it is made a part and parcel of a package programme. Along with demonitisation there will have to be a ceiling on property, income and expenditure. At the same time, we find that in some cases some of the non-agricultural income is passed off as agricultural income and in certain cases taxes are avoided. Therefore, we should accept fully the Raj Committee Report and the clubbing of agricultural and non-agricultural income should be ensured. That is one of the ways by which black money can be actually avoided. If they have not get the political will to

resort to demonitisation, I would suggest another alternative. If they resort to demonitisation, I will be extremely happy but I do not expect that the Finance Minister should announce on the Floor of the House that from a certain time they are going to have demonitisation. Nobody introduces demonitisation like that. It has to be a shock treatment, but that shock treatment must come.

But if they have not got the political will to introduce demonitisation and all the methods I have mentioned, at least they can resort to one soft option. Wherever investments are made in slum development schemes, some tax exemption can be given. Where investments are made in the development of backward areas, in the development of cottage industries, development of small industries or medium industries, in that case some sort of tax relief may be given and it might be possible that black money can be utilised for the sake of development.

I am rather stunned to find the rate of growth in the country. We have almost reached zero growth. On the Floor of this very House I had asked certain questions—what is the rate of growth of industries, what is the rate of growth of national income, what is the rate of growth of per capita income, what was the position when the Janata Government was there and, when the Janata Government went out, what was the position, etc. All these facts and figures are there in the proceedings of the Lok Sabha. I had quoted them a number of times and I do not want to quote them again but I may say this much that, as far as the present growth is concerned, I find that in the last four years the price stability of real public investments grew at the rate of 17 per cent but at present we find that, taking into account the inflation, the growth has almost become zero. So, zero growth is the great achievement. Sir, you are frightened of the Zero

Hour; I am frightened of zero growth. That is what is happening in this country.

Let us now come to the developmental and non-developmental expenditure. In the Budget that has been presented by the Finance Minister for 1980-81, let us see what is the increase in the resource mobilisation and what is the increase in the resources that are available for developmental activities. As far the total increase is concerned, it is Rs. 4,934 crores, and as far as increase in the developmental activities is concerned, the increase in the allocation is Rs. 1,208 crores. So, it is very clear that the non-developmental expenditure has increased. Unless the productive expenditure is increased, unless developmental activities are increased, unless more allocations are given for developmental activities, it will not be possible for us to check and curtail the inflationary pressure.

In our country, 66 per cent of the people live below the poverty line and certain programmes like Food-For-Work and Antyodaya must be taken up effectively in different States and the Centre should be able to give adequate help. But, as far as both these programmes are concerned, we find that the present Government has subverted the Food-For-Work Programme and at the same time we find that, as far as the Antyodaya programme is concerned, it has been kept in suspended animation. They are in the habit of keeping the Assemblies in suspended animation. But they have also kept the Antyodaya Programme in suspended animation. That is what they have done. I may be corrected if I am wrong. I find that the Food-For-Work quota was reduced from 3.8 million tonnes to 1.5 million tonnes; and the Antyodaya programme under which assets were made available for 2.5 lakh families is also at a standstill. These are the anti-poverty measures. When prices are going up and when the standard of living of the people is dwindling, it

is necessary that these anti-poverty measures are given more stress.

I would make one concrete suggestion to the Government. In order that common man's needs are satisfied, common man's commodities are made available at cheap prices, at least four important commodities like sugar, vegetables, meat and the common variety of fish should not be allowed to be exported at all. I am not referring to those fruits which are taken by people as luxury fruit, but I am referring only to sugar, vegetables, meat and the common variety of fish: and they can add to the list. But at least these commodities should not be exported. I would demand this from the Government; let them give to this House the figures of export of these commodities to which I have made a reference. These are the commodities that are required by the common man. I am not talking about those fish varieties which are consumed by the affluent classes; I am only referring to the common man's fish. If these four commodities are being exported, I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what exactly is the export that is taking place.

As far as cost of production is concerned, that is the most vital question is debating the issue of rise in prices. I think, a technical committee of experts must carefully go into this problem and try to find out whether there have been certain erroneous ideas regarding working of the cost of production in agriculture as well as in industry. It is very necessary that we try to settle certain norms. More inputs should be made available to the agriculturist at reasonable prices. You must try to see that the transport expenditure and other expenditure that is required are taken care of and in that case, the exact cost of production has to be worked out. You must also decide about the commodity price—how many times the cost of production should that be. Unless that particular norm is well

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]
settled on the basis of well-defined principles, I am afraid the problem can never be solved. There must be a balance between the agricultural prices and the industrial goods prices. Unless that is done, both the working class and the middle-class will suffer; the kisans will suffer at the other end. I am sure there is an urgent need of restoring the balance between the agricultural prices and the prices of the industrial goods.

As far as industrial production is concerned, I take only one instance. Take for instance the question of cloth. There are certain countries—again, if I refer to some countries, some people are allergic to those countries—but I may refer to China. In China, they do not allow the production of cloth of thousands of varieties. They have decided that their primary need is to meet the needs of the common man. Therefore, they have decided to minimise the varieties of cloth that are to be produced. I would very much like that our Government, irrespective of the ideological consideration, whatever is good in various socialist systems, whatever is good in various economic policies of the different countries, we should be able to pick that up. As an illustration, I have taken this up. It is very necessary that the quality of production of cloth and the quantity of production of cloth are linked up with the cost of production. If there are large varieties of cloth in this country, in that case, the cost of production invariably goes up. If the cost of production of cloth goes up, in that case, the price of cloth is also likely to go up.

Consistently, the trade unionists had been demanding in this country that the manner in which the price index has been decided in this country is faulty. Therefore, it is very necessary to re-examine that. Rath Committee was appointed and I am told that Committee has already submit-

ted its report. I would like that that report should be released and it should be known to the Members of this House. Then we will be able to know what are the lacunae in the existing system of calculating the price index. If that is done, that will be a very good contributory factor as far as this problem is concerned.

As far as sugar is concerned, that has become a pivotal problem today. The people remember those days when they were able to purchase sugar at Rs. 2.15 per kg., Rs. 2.30 per kg. or Rs. 2.50 per kg. During the puja holidays and Diwali holidays, there have been places where the open market sugar price had ranged between Rs. 13 to 25 per kg. This is what has happened. Of course, certainly, anti-social elements are responsible for this. But there is one policy decision that is also responsible. I must make a mention of that because I do not want to be partisan. As far as sugar policy is concerned, irrespective of the control on the price of sugar, the release mechanism ought to have been retained. When the Janata Party went out of power, the release mechanism which was there, the release control which was there according to which, the Government used to take note of the requirements and consumption of sugar in every State—only that much quantity was released—that release control was removed. That is why we found that the smugglers cornered the sugar. And that sugar, via Gujarat and Rajasthan, went to Pakistan and via Bengal, it went to Bangladesh. That is how the artificial scarcity was created. It is simple logic that whenever an artificial scarcity is created, the question of rise in price has become always dominant. On on-money, I do not want to talk because they are well conversant about it. This has also created a problem. Sugar crisis was created by sugar magnate in this country because of their league with the rulers. That has also created a new problem. Unless that is tackl-

ed, I am sure that this problem cannot be solved.

I can very well visualise that you are trying to ring the bell.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. I am trying to see the clock.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Your ringing the bell is a logical corollary for looking at the watch. I want to point to you as to what the Finance Minister said after presenting his budget. There again, I think my memory will not fail me. After presenting his budget, when he was replying to the discussion on the budget, he said:

'I can assure the Members of this House that we shall contain, we shall check the rise in prices. If I am not able to bring down the rise in prices, I will go.'

This is what the Finance Minister said (*Interruptions*). I do not want him to go out. He said that if that happens he will go. He is not so much a politician. The Prime Minister is more conscious. In that press conference, she said that we shall make sincere efforts to bring down the prices but we do not assure that we shall bring down the prices. She is very cautious because she knows 'once bitten twice shy'. Therefore she took a very cautious course. Whatever be the pronouncement of the Finance Minister on the floor of the House, as far as people are concerned, they are on the march. The battles are never fought only on the floor of the Legislatures; the battles are fought in the fields and factories; the battles are fought on the streets.

15.00 hrs.

I only want in this land of Mahatama Gandhi these battles should be fought in peaceful and democratic methods so that we should be able to force the government to change their policy, change their economic attitude and change their perspective so that inflation can be checked and rising prices can be brought down.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House expresses its concern at the continuing rise in the prices of essential commodities including sugar and urges upon the Government to take effective steps to curb the price rise."

SHRI T. R. SHAMANNA: Sir, I beg to move:

"That in the motion,—

add at the end—

"by increasing production, by checking galloping inflation, by taking stern measures against persons practising hoarding and profiteering, by controlling labour unrest, by gearing transport system, by regulating banking system to arrange to give finance facility for production and distribution, by avoiding waste, by reducing taxes and by finding substitutes."(1)

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon'ble Member, Professor Madhu Dandavate concluded very eloquently. He said that the people are on the march and the battle lines are drawn; the policies must change. The Opposition is working here and outside together. Well, certainly the people are on the march and the battle lines have been drawn and the battles are being fought in democratic and peaceful manner. While there is all-round increase in prices yet the result of the recent battles in the by-elections if taken as an index has gone against the Opposition. I am very sorry to say and I sympathise with them. Now, this is what is happening in the country.

Sir, I do not wish to indulge in mere jugglery of figures and I do not wish to defend the government just for the sake of defence. As a representative of the common man I wish to make some observations on the

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

price situation in the country. The whole nation is suffering as a result of the increase in prices. There is no doubt about it. It is a serious national problem and we have to see it from a proper perspective. Prof. Dandavate tried to give his own assessment of the situation. He said the situation with regard to inflation before Emergency period was very bad. He did not say anything about emergency period. Then he said that it improved during Janata regime and when Janata fell again there is deterioration and things have gone wrong.

Now, Sir, let us try to analyse as to how it has happened. It is a fact that pre-emergency period, viz., 1971 to 1974 and 1975 was a period of great indiscipline in the country largely contributed by our hon'ble friends. They had not reconciled themselves to their defeat and they started that total revolution and that revolution turned out to be a big flop. Now, a situation of indiscipline was being created. After all the economy of the country can be improved by disciplined functioning of various organs of the country. When did the public sector production goes down? When did it go down? Did it not improve during the emergency? It went down steeply during the Janata regime. Now, it is just like a son who got the growing business of his father and fore-fathers and when he spoiled it, his brother took over. Now, you say, no no, you have spoiled. Is it not a fact that during the Emergency a lot of fiscal measures were taken and the overall situation improved? (Interruptions). You cannot deny the fact. If you permit me to say, Sir, there is a very big compliment in the speech of Professor Madhu Dandavate who said that the situation during the Emergency improved very much and by implication it is very clear that the situation in the country deteriorated during the Janata Government rule. What happened during the Janata regime? I don't want to take much time to talk about Janata regime because they do not

deserve. Did you try to improve the situation? You gave the budget...

(Interruptions) Sir, the Janata Government gave a budget when Mr. Charan Singh was the Finance Minister. It was a budget which was a record of taxes.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Who is responsible for it?

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: I will tell you. You are responsible for that. Now, the Janata Government gave a budget (Interruptions) and it was a record taxation budget, record deficit financing budget and record inflation and a record increase in prices at one given time and that has affected the economy now. They accept that. I think Mr. Venkataraman has been there as Finance Minister for the last 10 or 11 months. He forgot that. And they expect that during this period Mr. Venkataraman could have created a miracle and offset all the disadvantages that the grave misrule had created in the country. What happened to coal during that period? What happened to cement during that period? Everyone knows it... (Interruptions) Now, a gravely mismanaged economic situation by the very incompetent Government led to the worst condition coupled with the drought in 1979-80. There is no doubt that the present Government had a very uphill task to face and it continues to this time and I think the economic situation in the country is far from satisfactory. The people are feeling the pinch of price rise. We all know that. We all sympathise with them. Now the suggestion given by Prof. Madhu Dandavate was that of demonetisation with certain package deal. I also feel that something drastic has to be done on the price front and on the economic front. Well, I am agreeing with him today on demonetisation. I strongly demand that the Government should go in for demonetisation along with certain other measures. This is my view. The Janata Government did nothing. Even in the case

of voluntary disclosure, it did nothing. The Janata Government period was a boom period for the monopolists, smugglers, profiteers and racketeers. (*Interruptions*). Now they are showing anxiety and my dear friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate was talking of China. He talked of China and when the Bill for Preventive Detention of smugglers came in the House, he opposed it. All the Opposition Members opposed it. Some of them had brought it in the House when they were in power. But when the Congress-I came to power and when they brought forward that Bill, the Opposition went out. You are not prepared to do anything in regard to smugglers, blackmarketeers and racketeers. Our friend from the CPI(M) said that the normal laws are there, the Essential Commodities Act is there and with them we can meet the situation. I want to know, what they have done to improve the situation. Government has taken certain remedial measures... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): You have arrested 'smugglers' like Shri A. K. Roy only.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: They said that we could do with the normal laws to curb prices, profiteering, smuggling etc. What have they done in West Bengal? The price situation, if anything, in West Bengal is worse than anywhere else.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: No.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: It is... (*Interruptions*).

Now, I want to do a little plain speaking with my Government also, my party also. I want to ask them: Whose baby is this price control? Is it Mr. Venkataraman's baby, or is it Mr. V. C. Shukla's baby? Whose baby is it? So far as price containment and price control is concerned, the Government should put up some kind of a coordinated machinery which should monitor regularly the prices

and also see that the prices are contained or reduced as far as possible. I know, they have set up a Committee. I read about it in a report of Mr. Venkataraman's speech before the Economic Editors' Conference. They have set up a Committee on Infrastructure Improvement and Coordination. It has done some good work and the Government has taken some measures. If they had not taken those measures, the situation in the country would have been far worse than it is today. Mr. V. C. Shukla is Minister for Civil Supplies; what are his powers to contain the prices? Of course, the Finance Minister can take certain basic remedial measures. As far as the containment of prices is concerned, I would suggest that the Government should set up a National Prices Vigilance Board. It should monitor the prices regularly, go into the various steps taken and get the prices reduced.

Now, what action has the Government taken? I see that under preventive detention action has been taken against about two hundred persons, but I do not find if any one is a known person among them. We and you have been elected by people with great expectations. Do not bother about what they say; go firmly and strongly. They say—hang the blackmarketeers by the nearest lamp post; but they do not want them to be sent to jail... (*Interruptions*). I would demand of this Government that they should very firmly take action against the profiteers, blackmarketeers and such people with a long handle. What for is the preventive detention meant if you cannot use that against big and known people who monopolise the market and the manufacturing field? Why don't you proceed against them? You have to take positive and firm steps to make the black money people feel the pinch which they are not feeling today as they felt during emergency. If you think it proper, I would even venture to suggest some kind of a voluntary disclosure scheme which at one time

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

gave a large amount of money for the Government coffers. Now and then, one National Vigilance Price Board is not enough. You must have one in each State. You must have it in each district. It must comprise of officials and non-officials. I am speaking, Sir, on the basis of my personal experience which I had during the Emergency. I was the Chairman of this Programme Implementation Committee which dealt with reduction and containment of prices. I say, Sir, the margin of profit from the manufacturer to the customers in various varieties ranges between 30 per cent to 300 per cent, 400 per cent, 500 per cent. There are middlemen. Everyone is sinner, manufacturer is the worst sinner, the agent is again a great sinner, the wholesaler is again a sinner and I would not exclude retailer also. He takes advantage of the situation. Therefore you must have such committees of officials and non-officials and it is a fact which we cannot deny, because of fear, the prices were reduced during the Emergency. The prices were reduced and contained during the Emergency. It is an economic fact. It is one hundred per cent fact.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no prices went up during the Emergency.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Similarly, as far as the growers' plight is concerned, he gets much less when it goes for him. The middlemen eat away. What is the Government going to do to stop it? Now, above all it is very unfortunate in this country that the consumers feel the pinch of prices. But they do not act, they do not organise themselves and so, what is needed today is combination of the Lok Shakti and the Sarkar Shakti. It is necessary that Governmental power and people's power must be combined together to work together, to curb down prices. I am sure the day we create a powerful consumer movement, sitting together with the representatives of the Government, the situation will start to improve

What is the situation? These long speeches, statistics, jugglery, will not help.

Sir, I will just take a few minutes. I will talk about the distribution system. What are they doing today? Are they helping the distribution system? I make a positive charge against them. It is a very serious and grave charge that they are deliberately trying to sabotage procurement and distribution system. You are deliberately doing it. What is the motive?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are addressing Mr. Somnath Chatterjee. Not myself.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: I am talking to the Opposition through you. Now, this is what they are doing and they are doing it for them. I read a statement, Sir, in the press yesterday or day before yesterday where the Lok Dal Leader, Shri Gauri Shankar Rai gave a statement stating "We are starting a movement." And what is mentioned there? I do not mention it. He belongs to Shri Chandrajit Yadav's party, alright. Now, what has he stated? "Our programme of action includes many things, gherao and road blockage." What does road blockage mean? If road blockage does not mean trying to paralyse the whole country, what exactly it means? Is it patriotism? At this grave hour, when our frontiers are threatened, it is a very difficult situation which has arisen. Pakistan's attitude is getting more belligerent. The situation over frontiers is very difficult. We have situations, one after the other developing into a very difficult situation. At this time, they are trying to see that no grain should come to Government. I said it before, on the one hand, they go and say to the farmer "Ask for more price." On the other hand, they go to the consumer and say "Look, Government is charging more price from you." This is a very serious case of duplicity on their part. They are trying to sabotage the whole system. If the Government goes against them, they say that all civil liberties are in danger.

In the given situation, the government has to do its duty. Let the government do its duty with courage. I say that government must act strongly, more strongly and quite strongly. I am using these three expressions deliberately. This is the demand of the common man. They have still hope in you. That is why they have returned you in power in the Assembly bye-elections. Do not be carried away by what these hon. members say. Their job is to see that you should remain in this mess; this country should remain in this mess. Prof. Madhu Dandavate said, "Well, the Speaker is afraid of the Zero Hour;" and he is afraid of the zero growth. They are relishing that decline in growth; they are relishing increase in prices. They think that is their weapon. But, I am sure that it is not going to pay.

I saw a weekly. In that weekly it was mentioned, an interview with a former MP who belonged to the Bharatiya Janata Party. It was stated, "The Government wheat stocks are completely dwindling. The situation is so grave and serious that this government can be toppled." But he said, "Our worry is that if the government is toppled, there is no substitute. What will happen?" So, they are wishing all the time that the government should be toppled; they are waiting for something. (Interruptions) There is nothing wrong with that. The only point is that they are not thinking of the country; they are not thinking of the masses. They are only thinking themselves. That is wrong Mr. Swamy.

Our former Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai had made several predictions in his life. When he became the Prime Minister, he said, "The Government is going to last for five years." That government did not continue. Then he said, "The Janata Party will never break." It broke down. Then he said, "The prices will be reduced within four months." The prices went up. They go on making predictions. Shri Chandra Shekhar said recently that the whole thing had gone 'phuff

and that Mrs. Gandhi had no right to rule. Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that she is a spent-force. We have seen the results. (Interruptions). It has to do with everything, prices and all that. (Interruptions). I know that the situation is difficult and I do not blame these friends for being the prophet of doom. They always predict doom. Their sole preoccupation remains, their sole target remains, Mrs. Gandhi as before. They were disappointed then and they will be disappointed again. I am sure that this government will be able to overcome these difficulties and meet the situation and improve the economy in due course of time. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today, the House is discussing a problem with which the entire country and all our people are seriously concerned. I say that the government has totally failed on the price front and the people are suffering in helplessness, because the price of every commodity in the country, particularly the essential goods has touched the sky. I am only expressing the common feelings of the common people in this country. The government should not make this question a question of politics; they should give a serious thought to it and tackle this problem effectively and also seek the cooperation of the people who understand the economic problems in this country. They should also seek their cooperation to find a solution. The price question is not an isolated question, I would like to say, because it is no use blaming one another. We have heard enough in this House for the last 10 months. The total blame is being put on the previous government. But what is the situation today? I should like this House to give serious thought to what has happened during the last ten months. I shall take up only some commodities which are in common use. I shall show what the price was at the time of the previous Diwali, that is 1979, and at the time of this Diwali, that is in 1980. For example previous Diwali time, in 1979, sugar was selling in this country at Rs. 2.50 per kg.;

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

during this Diwali it has been sold by levy price in Delhi at Rs. 6.10 per kg. As pointed out by Prof. Madhu Dandavate in different parts of the country the price went upto Rs. 12—18 per kg. Gur was selling during the time of Diwali in 1979 at Rs. 2 a kg.; last Diwali in 1980 it was selling at Rs. 7.50 a kg. Vanaspati ghee was selling at Rs. 9 kg. in 1979, loose ghee; during this Diwali it was sold at Rs. 11.85 paise per kg. Arhar dal which was being sold at Rs. 3.90 a kg. in 1979 was being sold at Rs. 5 a kg. at the time of this Diwali; and today it is being sold at Rs. 7 per kg. Rajma Chitra which was being sold at Rs. 2.60 per kg. in 1979 is being sold at Rs. 5.50 per kg. now. Chana dal which was sold at Rs. 2.60 per kg. during the Diwali of 1979, was sold during this Diwali at Rs. 5.75 per kg. The price of suji had risen from Rs. 1.80 per kg. then, to Rs. 2.70 per kg. at the time of this Diwali. Rin soap was selling at Rs. 1.80 during 1979 Diwali; during the last Diwali in 1980 it was sold at Rs. 2.30. Urea is the most popular fertiliser which the peasants in this country use; it was selling at Rs. 70 per bag last year, when this government took over. It is being sold now at Rs. 105—107 per bag. Cement is not available in the whole country at the fixed market price; it is being sold in black market at Rs. 80 per bag. The increase in the prices of medicines ranges from 33 to 50 per cent. This is the situation in which today people are suffering. Except a handful of people, businessmen, black marketeers, contractors and smugglers, the entire people of our society, poor people, unorganised labourers, landless labourers, small and medium peasantry, middleclass salaried people, almost all sections of our society are suffering. The common man in this country reels under rocketing prices. Unscrupulous traders are pushing up prices abnormally with impunity. This government is looking on as a helpless spectator. I said that people were also becoming helpless. Mr. Bhagat was right; today there is no viable alternative. It is unfortunate for the Indian democracy.

15.28 hrs.

[SHRI HARINATHA MISRA *in the Chair*]
It is unfortunate for the people of this country. That is why they feel that they can do anything. People may suffer. Law and order situation may deteriorate. People are being killed. Communal riots are taking place every day. The result of the deteriorating economic situation is felt in every walk of life. Today the cheapest commodity in this country is the life of the common man. That is how people are feeling in this country. Had there been a viable alternative this government would not have behaved in the most ruthless manner, in the most heartless manner. Today I am using strong words because that is the feeling of the entire country. People are suffering. A person getting Rs. 2000 per month used to be considered as high strata, living a good life. Today a person getting 2000 has become a poor man. Lower middleclass, middleclass, upper middleclass people are all now coming under the poverty line. That is a serious situation.

I would like to say that the Government should not take it as a matter of debate, but as a matter of political question. Sir, today we have got a feeling that the Government is either helpless or the Government is becoming a collaborator with the vested interests in this country, that the Government is not able to take any effective measures in achieving economic orientation, and no socio-economic policy is being provided.

Sir, where is the much trumpeted public distribution system? Where is the public distribution system today? Today, even Members of Parliament cannot get sugar, rice and wheat from the public distribution system, forget about all those people, millions of common people. I am not talking of privileges of Members of Parliament. Yes, it is a fact that the Members of Parliament have certain privileges. Even he is not getting! What about the common man, or the lower middle class people in this country? There are millions of people who are living

in the rural areas. Sir, this is the situation. I would like to say that the Government must give serious thought to it. There are millions of unorganised labourers. I can understand the industrial labourer fighting for parity with the rising dearness allowance. What about the millions of unorganised labourers? What about the peasantry, the small peasantry, middle class peasants? I have seen the bio-data of the members here. Two-thirds come with a rural background. What is the situation, today, Sir? A person with ten acres of land today has become a poor person. He is leading a hand-to-mouth existence. I was touring recently and staying with a peasant. They were working out the cost of their cultivation. For one acre wheat cultivation they had to pay Rs. 1,200 and they are earning Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,100. Now, how many people are there with 10 acres of land holding in this country leaving apart a very few who are holding by inscrutable methods big farm holdings. Most of the peasantry today is suffering and going below the poverty line. The other day the Prime Minister said the Opposition is instigating those sections of the people who voted for her Government. She mentioned Harijans, women, minorities. Yes, it is a fact today that these rural masses were the people who gave their support to the ruling party. These are the people who are suffering the most. What are their children getting? Not even a cup of milk, not even a glass of sharbat with sugar, forget about milk. This is the situation. The unemployed gave their support. What is being done? Are they getting jobs? They are getting lathis, jails. Give them lathis, give them jails for some time. But the time will come, they will stand up, they will see that the Government takes up their grievances and brings radical reforms of a socio economic nature or the Government has to come to its knees. Many Governments have come to their knees. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your Party including yourself has been allotted 14 minutes only. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: I think this is a very important subject. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am conscious of my duty, but I have to do it in a gentle manner.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Sir, the Finance Minister mentioned that the Members will kindly appreciate the point which the Prime Minister has made that today the whole world is suffering, is going through a period of inflation, that is a world phenomenon. Yes, I do accept. Inflation is a world phenomenon. But should we not take steps to curb it? Only the other day, a very distinguished guest, Hon. Speaker of Czechoslovakia—you were also present—mentioned that in the last 10 years they had only six per cent price rise. In the last ten years six per cent price rise! I would like to know from this Government what steps they are taking. Yes, import of oil is bringing in inflation. Import of other commodities are bringing in inflation. May I know—I have the right to ask—why the Government should take necessary steps to import those oil products on a large scale? Why should we import those things, which we can produce in our own country by proper utilisation, of 34 per cent utilisation capacity in this country? In steel, there is capacity under-utilisation. In coal production we have failed. In energy we have failed. There is all-round failure. It is a shame to this Government and to this country that we have been pushed to a situation where we are importing cement, for which we have got enough capacity in the country.

Since last February, there has been a rise of 5 points every month and the index crossed the 400 mark in September, the base year being 1960. According to your estimate, the inflation is 20 per cent but the price rise for the common man is from 50 per cent to 400 per cent on different essential commodities. We all know that more than half the population today is under the poverty line. If the

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

Government pursues the same economic policy, two-thirds of the population is going to be under the poverty line in this country. Therefore, I will have to make certain suggestions.

Firstly, the Government must bring the entire population who are under the poverty line under public distribution system and should act in a big way. It should not be only a fire-fighting machinery, but it should be a permanent part of our structure till this country gets over the poverty situation. Secondly, the Government must have a proper price policy and parity in prices of industrial goods, agricultural goods and goods produced in the handicrafts and small-scale industries. If there is any rise in the price of inputs, the producers must get a relative price increase for their produce. If oil price goes up or if electricity cost goes up or if coal cost goes up, there should be a relative increase in the price of the produce. Then, there should be total elimination of all middlemen. As Mr. Bhagat said, from 33 per cent to 300 per cent is the profit of the middlemen. This is something which this country cannot tolerate. The time has come when the Government must take effective measures to bring about a total elimination of middlemen from our economic structure.

There should be total take-over of the produce from the big industries and their distribution should be through consumer cooperative societies. We have seen in this country that big industries have their own parallel distribution system, the entire profit going to their kith and kin and the Government finds itself helpless. Government must take strong measures on this matter.

One serious cause for unscrupulous rise in prices is the election fund collection from unscrupulous sources. You collect money in the elections from big industries and blackmarket-ers and therefore, you become helpless against them; you kneel before

them. Therefore, Government must see to it that there is a proper enactment and money is not collected from unscrupulous traders. The time has come when Parliament must see to it that unnecessary black money is not used in elections.

A better climate for higher production should be created and Government must start a dialogue with trade unions, business organisations and opposition leaders and work out a proper price policy.

Government must take ruthless action against smugglers, hoarders and black-marketeers.

Lastly, Government must very seriously think of setting up a National Economic Council consisting of eminent economists and planners in this country, and they must come out with suggestions which the Government on the basis of consensus must accept. If the Government can really reach a consensus on many national issues, why has this Government not made an effort to reach some national consensus on the question of development, planning and resources? If the Government is serious and honest enough, they must take necessary steps in this direction. Government should not take these things with complacency. Government should not think that because there is no strong opposition and because the opposition are divided amongst themselves and there is no national alternative, therefore they should be allowed to go their own way. The people of India have shown enough political maturity and wisdom. If the Government sleep over this basic national issue, then they will be playing not only with their party but with the future of this country also. The time has come when the Government must give serious thought to have a total re-orientation in our socio-economic policies. Priorities must be fixed and the poor people in the country must find a place in the re-fixation of priorities.

With these words, I will end by saying that the Government, really speaking, stand to be condemned because they have totally failed to meet the minimum requirements of the common man in this country.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Sir, the price rise in the country has caused great hardships to our people. As our Members on this side, are in constant touch with the masses, we take every opportunity to bring to the notice of the Government the sufferings of our people every now and then and we take every opportunity to see that the Government takes effective measures to fight this rise in prices which is a continuing feature from the previous regime. I am happy to say that our Government has accorded the topmost priority for checking the price rise.

I thought that the speakers on the other side, who initiated this motion, would not bring politics in this matter which is of national concern. But I regret to say that they brought politics into it and they feel that this is the reason why the price rise is taking place.

I would like to place before the House the good features of today's efforts of the Government. The wholesale prices in the country have declined by 1.2 per cent during the week ended October, 25 bringing down the official wholesale price index to 262.0 from the previous week's level of 265.7.

Here, we have just now been told that today there is a tendency of inflation of the pre-emergency period and, therefore, something is coming. Prof. Dandavate referred to the price rise and he apprehended that the Emergency was coming. His whole attempt was to say that because there was price rise and inflation, therefore, the Emergency was coming. They have been going on explaining this to the people for the last ten months. But it never worked, because the people of this country are

clever and politically mature and they do not want to be mis-guided by our friends in the opposite. As the Government informed the House a few days back, the public distribution system is being extended to check the price rise. In 1979-80 3.65 lakh tonnes of imported edible oil were lifted by the various State Governments for distribution through the public distribution system, as against only 93,000 tonnes during the preceding year. Whatever public distribution system we had developed, it had almost collapsed during the last two and a half years; it was virtually demobilised. It is only since January that the public distribution system has been geared up and by April 1980 it has started becoming effective.

One quite remarkable thing is, in spite of the serious drop in foodgrains production in 1979-80, when it fell to 116 million tonnes, the prices of foodgrains have not gone up, as they used to go up previously. It is a very good sign. Government have taken measures to see that whatever buffer stocks of foodgrains we have, reach the people of the remotest corners of the different States.

If you see the allocation of essential commodities by the Central Government to the different States, whether it is rice, sugar, kerosene or petroleum products, if you compare the figures from January to November 1979 with the figures from January to November 1980 you will notice that in 1980 more quantities of essential commodities have been allocated to the State Governments, than in the previous year.

As we know, the price rise cannot be checked by the Central Government alone. Which is the agency which executes the distribution of essential commodities to the consumer? It is the State Governments. Whatever levy sugar is being allotted to the State Governments for distribution through the retail shops, I am saying from my own experience,

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

the entire quantity does not reach the real consumers. A part of it is being sold in the black market at Rs. 9 or 10 a kilo. Even though Village Committees are being formed, as they were asked to be formed by the Central Government, what happens is that the members of the Village Committee certify that they have taken 20 quintals of sugar and distributed it in the panchayat, while actually only 6 quintals have been distributed in the panchayat. The balance of 14 quintals are sold in the blackmarket. Who has to ensure that the distribution is properly done? (Interruptions)

Prof. Dandavate was referring to the rate of inflation and he was quoting some figures. I hope the figures are not different for different members.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whether you quote or some other Member quotes, the source is the same and the facts are the same.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: The rate of inflation during the current financial year, as on 25th October 1980, is 13.2 per cent according to the Reserve Bank Bulletin. But the hon. Member was saying that it is 18 per cent. I do not know from where he got this figure. This figure of 13.2 is 2.4 less than the figure for the corresponding period last year. So, the inflation rate is much less today. Even here, as much as 5 per cent of the total increase of 13.2 in the wholesale price index is attributable to sugar, khandsari and gur. The price index for rise in April 1980 was 195.5 and in October it rose to 206.7; in the case of wheat; during the same period it rose from 159 to 173.6. But in the case of khandsari it went up from 320.2 to 473.4 and in the case of gur from 332.4 to 585.9. So, sugar, gur and khandsari—these are the three main groups in which the index number has gone up rapidly and I hope the Government will take a serious note as to how to check this thing.

Here, again I would like to bring one thing to the notice of the House

and the Government. It is something surprising that our friends tell us here. All right, we shall have to check the prices. But when they go to the other places, they say: 'You demand increase in the prices of other things.' How these two things go together? You know that Rs. 5000 crores were spent for importing petroleum products. It also helps the rise in prices, so far as transportation costs are concerned. Now, if you go to Nepal, what is the price of sugar selling there? If you go to other neighbouring countries, what is the price of sugar selling there? It is much higher than in this country. Our sugar is going to Nepal and Bangladesh. The sugar which is supplied to the consumer in this country at the fair price shops is Rs. 2.80. In the neighbouring States, the price is much higher. Who is doing this? Therefore, the Central Government has no authority to see that every consumer item which goes to West Bengal will reach the consumer. And whose responsibility is this? Every consumer item which goes to Bihar or to Kerala or to any other States should reasonably reach the consumer. But who will look into this. Therefore, the responsibility should not be entirely on the Centre, the responsibility should be divided between the Centre and the States. Today, if you want to check the price rise, if it is a national problem, not a political or a Party problem, are we to deal with the problem like this? Are we not to sit together to have a national consensus? Here, price rise is a problem which we have to solve by all our concerted efforts? If your sabotage the sugarcane supply going to the sugar factories, can the sugar prices come down? If you want to say that the onion prices should come down and the train with onions does not move, are we helping to see that the price comes down? I think this is completely a contradictory argument that you are putting forward.

Sir, you must have read in the newspapers that the Madhya Pradesh

Government abolished from 1st November all the 22,000 fair price shops because of large-scale corruption in the supply of essential commodities. They went to the blackmarket, they were not given to the consumers, and the Madhya Pradesh Government has said:

"At the peak of the sugar crisis, ample sugar was available in Madhya Pradesh and in fact, the State's problem was how to dispose of its stock. But only after an hour, a check in the local market revealed that all the authorised shops of free-sale sugar had no stock."

And therefore, they had to abolish all the 22,000 fair price shops and they are now having new fair price shops. Even all the dealers who were appointed by the previous Government were all politically appointed and I have seen in many cases sugar is going to black market. Unless we set up a distribution shop for every 2,000 of the population, the essential commodities will not reach the consumer. The Central Government should set up a kind of Civil Supplies Corporation, and all the essential commodities should be made available to the consumers in these shops, so that they do not have to pay more in the black market.

I have talked to lots of people, and they say that they do not want 5 or 10 kilos of sugar, but only that whatever is allotted to their State should reach the State and the consumer. Therefore, Government should see to it that whatever is allotted to the States reaches the consumers. If sugar is not available in the country, how is it that you can get any amount at Rs. 10 a kilo? Therefore, though you are spending Rs. 200 crores of foreign exchange to see that the consumers get sugar at reduced prices, ultimately it does not reach them, and the consumers feel that the Centre is not giving them sugar. Therefore, all these things should be taken into consideration.

I do not know how far I am correct, but I am given to understand that the

total availability of sugar in 1977-78 was 80.82 lakh tonnes, in 1978-79 it was 86.46 lakh tonnes, and in October, 1979 it was 58.63 lakh tonnes. The domestic consumption in 1977-78 was 45.91 lakh tonnes, in 1978-79 it was 35.77 lakh tonnes and in 1979-80 it was 30.40 lakh tonnes. If in 1979-80 our stock was 58.63 lakh tonnes and domestic consumption only 30.40 lakh tonnes. I do not know why sugar is so scarce. Therefore, this has also to be gone into whether the sugar mills are actually supplying the sugar and whether we have any control over the sugar mills.

Therefore, I repeat the age-old demand made in this Parliament that the sugar mills be nationalised. We had passed a resolution at the Congress session also in this respect, demanding that even the wholesale trade should be taken over by Government. So, I demand that a Civil Supplies Corporation be set up with a distribution shop for every 2,000 of the population and that the sugar mills be nationalised as has been long demanded by Parliament.

श्री मोहन लाल सुखड़िया (उदयपुर):

सभापति महोदय, आज सदन में हम लोग एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न पर विचार कर रहे हैं। प्रोफेसर दंडवते ने जो कुछ कहा है, उसको हम सबने काफ़ी गौर से सुना है। मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी सरकार यह पसंद नहीं करेगी। कि कीमतें अंधाधुंध बढ़ती चली जायें। कोई भी सरकार यह नहीं चाहेगी कि चीजों का अभाव हो जाये, उसकी वजह से लोगों में नाराज़गी पैदा हो और कुछ लोगों को उससे लाभ उठाने का मौका मिले।

16.00 hrs.

यहाँ पर बताया गया कि जनता पार्टी के ज़माने में कीमतें इतनी नहीं बढ़ीं लेकिन अब कीमतें इतनी बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं। मैं जनता पार्टी के राजनीतिक स्वरूप और दूसरी बातों के बारे में चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता लेकिन इन चीजों को मान कर चलना होगा

[श्री मोहनलाल सुब्बाडिया]

कि जनता पार्टी के हाथ में जब हुकूमत आई तो जो बफर स्टॉक फूड-ग्रेन्स का था और साथ-साथ जो दो अच्छे मानसून (बर्षा) के वर्ष रहे वह सारी स्थिति को ठीक हालात में रखने के लिए बहुत बड़े कारण थे। हमारे देश में सब कुछ होते हुए भी, इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि मानसून का असर हमारी सारी आर्थिक स्थिति पर काफी पड़ता है। केवल यही नहीं, बड़े-बड़े विकसित देशों में भी इसका असर पड़े बिना नहीं रहता। इन दिनों हम अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं कि चीन को भी काफी बड़ी मात्रा में खाने की चीजें इम्पोर्ट करनी पड़ेंगी। हमारे देश में जब हमारी सरकार बनी उस वक्त देश के बड़े भाग में अकाल की स्थिति थी—इस बात से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। साथ ही इस बात से भी इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि पहले के मुकाबले में उस समय स्टॉक्स कम थे। इस बात से भी इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि एक तरफ जहां ड्राउट था वहां दूसरी तरफ लोक दल की सरकार के समय में किमानों को अपना गन्ना खेतों में जलाना पड़ा जिसकी वजह से गन्ने की पैदावार कम हुई और गन्ने की पैदावार कम होने की वजह से शुगर की पैदावार पिछले वर्ष देश में कम हुई। इन हालात से, मैं समझता हूँ इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता। जब जनता पार्टी का शासन कायम हुआ था उस वक्त सरकार के पास कितना बफर स्टॉक था और जब कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार आई उस वक्त कितना बफर स्टॉक था—इन तथ्यों को दूर रख कर अगर हम कहते हैं कि सरकार की वजह से हालात में परिवर्तन आया तो मैं समझता हूँ यह गलत होगा। इस तरह से पूर्व भूमिका को भुलाया नहीं जा सकता है। अगर गन्ने की पैदावार अच्छी होने के बावजूद

शुगर की पैदावार कम हो तो सरकार को बोपी ठहराया जा सकता है लेकिन अगर किसी वजह से खेतों में गन्ना ही न हो तो शुगर की कम पैदावार के लिए पहले के हालात ही जिम्मेदार होंगे।

प्रॉ० दण्डवते जी ने कहा कि 1978-80 में इंप्लेज्मन्ट की शुध्दात हुई और काफी तेजी के साथ बढ़ने लगा। यह सच है कि जब जनता पार्टी का विघटन नहीं हुआ था उस मौके पर जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया गया था उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि देश में महंगाई बढ़ती चली गई। इसकी जिम्मेदारी जनता पार्टी या भारतीय जनता पार्टी लोकदल पर डाले या किसी पर डाले लेकिन अन्ततोगत्वा वह बजट डार्ड हजार करोड़ के घाटे का साबित हुआ और उसी की वजह से देश में महंगाई बढ़ी। इस बार जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया गया है वह 14 सौ करोड़ के घाटे का प्रस्तुत किया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ आज जो वास्तविकता है उससे मुंह मोड़ा नहीं जा सकता कि क्रूड आयल और केरोसीन जो हम बाहर से मंगाते हैं उसके भावों में जो बढ़ोतरी हुई है वह आज की 25 परसेंट महंगाई के लिए जिम्मेदार है और 25 परसेंट महंगाई गुड़, शुगर और खाण्डसारी के भाव बढ़ने से बढ़ी है। इस बात से भी इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि इंटरनेशनल रीजन्स की वजह से क्रूड आयल के भावों में बढ़ोतरी हुई है न कि हमारी सरकार की नीतियों की वजह से। क्या इस बात से इंकार करके चला जा सकता है कि गुड़, शक्कर और खाण्डसारी के अन्दर जो स्थितियां पैदा हुईं, वह पिछली सरकार की गलत नीतियों के परिणामस्वरूप और हमारे यहां पर कम पैदावार होने के कारण हुई है। क्या हम इस बात से इंकार कर सकते हैं कि ड्राउट के अन्दर पैदावार कम हुई और कम पैदावार होने की वजह से देश के अन्दर भाव बढ़े।

सभापति महोदय, प्रो० इण्डवते जी ने कहा कि पिछले दो-चार हफ्तों के प्राइसों को सामने रखकर नहीं चलना चाहिए, पुरानी फिगर्स को लेकर चलना चाहिए। वे बिहान हैं, मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि पिछले साल का डाउट का असर चला आ रहा था, क्या आप चाहते हैं कि डाउट के असर वाले पीरियड के भावों को स्थायी चला जाए और उसके बाद ओ ठीक वर्ष शुरू हो रहा है, उसकी वजह से जो मार्केट के ऊपर प्राइसेस में सुधार हो रहा है, उन सुधारों को हम ध्यान में न रखकर चर्चे। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर उसको मानकर नहीं चलेंगे, तो डाउट के परिणाम थे, वे तो पिछले वक्त से रिफ्लैक्ट हो रहे हैं। अभी जो अच्छी वर्षा हुई है, उसकी वजह से कुछ चीजों के भावों में गिरावट आई है। पन्सेस के मामले में भी सभी जानते हैं कि कुछ भाव पहले से कम हुए हैं। उसी तरह से कुछ और चीजों में, जैसे खण्डसारी और गुड़ के दामों में पहले के मुकाबले कुछ कमी हुई है। अभी तो एक ट्रेंड शुरू हुआ है और उसके बाद परिणाम सामने आयेंगे, इसलिए इन सब चीजों को दिमाग से हटाकर हम नहीं चल सकते।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी कहा गया कि हमारे देश के अन्दर ब्लैक-मार्केटीयर्स हैं और मुनाफाखोरी हैं, उनको मखली में क्यों नहीं रोका जा रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी स्टेट्स के अन्दर कांग्रेस की सरकार को आए सिर्फ छः महीने हुए हैं, लेकिन वेस्ट बंगाल में और केरल में जहां काफी अर्थ से सी० पी० एम० की सरकारें हैं और जहां ब्लैक मार्केटीयर्स के खिलाफ काफी भाषण होते हैं, क्या वहां की प्राइस बहुत नीचे आ गई है और दूसरी जगहों की प्राइसेस बहुत ऊंची हैं ... (व्यवधान)

वहां पर कितने ब्लैक-मार्केटीयर्स के खिलाफ कार्रवाही करके वहां की हालत को सुधार लिया गया है। यदि वहां की हालत को नहीं सुधारा गया है, तो सिर्फ कांग्रेस की सरकार ही दोषी नहीं है। मान लीजिए आज दूसरे स्टेट्स के अन्दर मंहगाई है, तो क्या वहां पर सस्ताई हो गई है।

आज इन्फ्लेस्ट्रवचर के बारे में चर्चा की जाती है, पावर के बारे में चर्चा की जाती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि आज कलकत्ता में और बंगाल के अन्दर जो पावर की स्थिति है, उसके मुकाबले में दूसरी स्टेट्स के अन्दर कुछ ज्यादा ही ठीक हालत है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि वे यह कह कर नहीं चल सकते हैं कि बंगाल के अन्दर दूसरी पार्टियों की सरकार होने की वजह से आपने वत तरक्की कर दी है। आप तो पब्लिक सेक्टर को मानने वाले हैं और वहां पर इन्फ्लेस्ट्रवचर भी है। वहां पर बिजली का उत्पादन ठीक तरह से नहीं हो पाता है और रात को लोगों को सड़कों पर पंखा लेकर घूमना पड़ता है तथा अंधेरे में बैठना पड़ता है। यदि इस तरह के हालात वहां पर हैं तो आज दूसरों को दोष देना बहुत आसान है, लेकिन अमलियत को जब फेम करने का सवाल आता है, तब चाहे लोकदल की सरकार जिस वक्त थी, उस मौके पर और चाहे आज के दिन कम्युनिस्ट की सरकार बंगाल और केरल के अन्दर बैठी है, उसको वास्तविकता को सामने रखकर चलना चाहिए। हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव ने कहा कि इसको राजनीतिक प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिए। मैं तो यह देख रहा हूँ कि विरोधी पार्टियां टूट गई हैं, तो उनके सामने यही मुख्य राजनीतिक प्रश्न हो गया है कि कहीं प्राइसेस के मामले में आन्दोलन करो, तो कहीं प्राइसेस बढ़कामे के लिए आन्दोलन करो। दो तरह के आन्दोलन और दोनों

[श्री: मोहन लाल सुब्बाडिया]
कन्ट्राडिक्टरी बातें। एक बात नहीं की जाती ताकि एक तरफ हो कर चलें। एक तरफ फिगर दी जा रही है कि पिछली दिवाली पर शक्कर का भाव क्या था और दूसरी तरफ गन्ने का ज्यादा भाव मांगा जा रहा है। मैं श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ, आज गन्ने का जो भाव आप मांग रहे हैं, उस को मान लिया जाये, तो फिर बतलाइए शक्कर का क्या भाव होगा? इन कन्ट्राडिक्टरी बातों को कहने का एक मकसद है कि जहां भी हमको मालूम पड़े कि फाडर मौजूद है, उस में फौरन दियासलाई लगा दो, जिस से आग लग जाये ताकि हम कह सकें कि यह सरकार कुछ नहीं कर पा रही है, सरकार हालात पर काबू नहीं पा रही है। आज हर जगह कुछ न कुछ हो रहा है, कहीं पर स्ट्राइक हो रही है, कहीं पर लाक-आउट हो रहा है, कहीं मंहगाई के खिलाफ आन्दोलन हो रहा है और कहीं पर कीमतें बढ़ाने के लिए कहा जा रहा है।

सभापति महोदय, मैं इस बात को मानने वाला हूँ कि किसान को उचित पैदावार का उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिए, उस के लिए इनपुट्स की बात यहां पर कई दफा कही गई है। मैंने इस बात को भी कहा था कि रिजर्व बैंक के चंपरासी को किसान के मुकाबले, जो खेतों में मेहनत करता है, ज्यादा मिलता है। यह स्थिति बदलनी चाहिए। यह स्थिति इस देश के लिए वाजिव नहीं है। इस के लिए हम सब मिल कर क्या बैठ कर विचार नहीं कर सकते हैं, बल्कि ज्यादा अच्छा यह होगा कि सरकार एग्रीकल्चर प्राइस पालिसी पर विचार करने के लिए कोई हाई-पावर्ड कमीशन बैठाए। वह कमीशन इन तमाम चीजों के बारे में गहराई से विचार करे

और हर आस्पैक्ट पर विचार कर के भाव निर्धारित करे। मैं एक बात स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रश्न किसी एक वस्तु का नहीं है। आज हम यदि गन्ने का भाव 30 रुपये क्विंटल कर दें तो स्वाभाविक है उस का असर दूसरी वस्तुओं की पैदावार पर पड़ेगा, उपज में डाइवर्शन हो जायेगा, व्हीट की प्रोडक्शन कम हो जायगी, राइस की प्रोडक्शन कम हो जायगी। हमने देखा है कि जिस कमोडिटी की प्राइस ऊंची जाती है, किसान उसी कमोडिटी को बोने लगते हैं और उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि दूसरी चीजों की शार्टेज हो जाती है।

सभापति महोदय, आप गांवों की हालत को जानते हैं। आज हिन्दुस्तान में दालों की कमी क्यों है? कमी इसलिए है कि पैदा करने वाले किसान को उस का उचित दाम नहीं मिलता क्योंकि यह ड्राई एरिए की ऋाप है। इसी लिए किसान काटन की पैदावार की तरफ जाता है या किसी दूसरी ऋाप की तरफ जाता है, क्योंकि उस को दूसरी ऋाप में ज्यादा पैसा मिलता दिखाई देता है। मैंने अपनी आंखों से देखा है—रहले किसान उड़द और मूंग बोया करते थे लेकिन आज मक्का बोना पसन्द करते हैं, चना बोना पसन्द करते हैं क्योंकि चने का भाव बहुत ऊंचा चला गया है। इस लिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन बदले हुए हालात में हमें बैठकर विचार करना चाहिए और देश के हित में इन तमाम चीजों को हल करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। आन्दोलन करने से कीमतें बढ़ेंगी, घटेंगी नहीं। आप किसी भी आन्दोलन को ले लीजिए, जहां भी हम आन्दोलन करके स्केयर पैदा करेंगे उस का असर साइक्लोजिकल होता है, होर्डिङ्ग बढ़ने

लम जाती है। मैं दुकानदारों की होडिंग की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ, कन्ज्यूमर-होडिंग की बात कह रहा हूँ। मार्केट में शक्कर आती है, कमी को देखते हुए हर कन्ज्यूमर की यह इच्छा होती है कि दो-दो किलो शक्कर एक्सट्रा ले कर रख लें—इन्हीं कारणों से मार्केट में शार्टेज हो जाती है और चीजों के दाम बढ़ जाते हैं।

आज मुख्य प्रश्न उत्पादन का है। देश के अन्दर पैदावार को ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़ाना है, लेकिन इस के लिए जरूरी है कि जो अनुत्पादक एक्सपेन्डिचर है, वेस्ट-फुल एक्सपेन्डिचर है, उस को रोका जाये और उस धन को उत्पादन की तरफ लगाया जाये। मैंने बजट के मौके पर पहले भी कहा था कि अनप्रोडक्टिव डेवेलपमेंट्स एक्सपेन्डिचर को रोकने की जरूरत है, इसलिए कि अन्त में जाकर आप का डेफिसिट फाइनेन्सिंग कहीं और ज्यादा न बढ़ जाये। आप स्टेट्स के बजट्स को देखिए—हर तरफ डेफिसिट फाइनेन्सिंग है, ओवर-ड्राफ्ट्स बढ़ने जा रहे हैं। इन सब बातों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए तथा डेफिसिट ज्यादा न बढ़े और प्राइसेस पर उसका असर न पड़े, आज जब नई पैदावार सामने आ रही है हमें थोड़ा सतर्क हो कर विचार करना चाहिए कि हम उन की प्राइसेज को कैसे ठीक रख सकते हैं।

आज ब्लैक मनी कैसे जनरेट हो रही है? आज सीमेंट को बीजिए, पूरी सीमेंट इण्डस्ट्रीज कन्ट्रोल्ड है, फिर भी सीमेंट मार्केट में 80 रुपये बौरे पर ब्लैक में मिलता है। कैसे मिलता है, कहां से आता है? कई जगह पी० डब्ल० डी० कन्ट्रोल्ड रेट पर सरकारी काम पूरा करने के लिए कान्ट्रैक्ट्स को निमेंट देती है और यह सीमेंट उन कान्ट्रैक्ट्स के जरिए बाजार में चला जाता है

उसी तरह से कुछ इंडस्ट्री वाले, जो सीमेंट ले लेते हैं और सीमेंट से पाइप्स का पोल्स या दूसरी चीजें बनाते हैं, उनको बनाने से जो उनको मुनाफा मिलता है उस से ज्यादा सीमेंट को ब्लैक मार्केट में बेचने से मिल जाता है। इसलिए वे उसको ब्लैक में बेच देते हैं। इसलिए यह देखने की जरूरत है कि जितना आप सीमेंट एलाट कर रहे हैं, उस का प्रापर यूटीलाइजेशन हो रहा है या नहीं। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि अगर जरूरत हो, तो गवर्नमेंट के एलाटमेंट को भी कम कर दीजिए और मार्केट के अन्दर यह ज्यादा आ जाए जिस की वजह से ब्लैक मार्केटिंग का काम न हो सके और लोगों को आसानी के साथ यह चीज मिल सके। इसकी सख्त आवश्यकता है।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा, कृषि मंत्री जी इस समय यहां पर नहीं हैं, कि चावल के मामले में, गेहूं के मामले में और कुछ आयल-सीड्स के मामले में तो काफी नये तरीके के बीज और बहुत सी चीजों के निकाले गये हैं लेकिन पलसेज के मामले में कोई ब्रैकथू जिस को कहना चाहिए या ग्रीन रीगलूशन की बात कहनी चाहिए, वह हम ज्यादा नहीं कर पाए हैं। इस चीज को भी ध्यान में रख कर चलना चाहिए।

एक बात और कहूंगा और वित्त मंत्री जी इस बात को ध्यान में रखें। भाखड़ा के अन्दर, चम्बल के अन्दर पोंग डेम के अन्दर इस साल पानी कम है और पानी की कमी की वजह से जो गेहूं बोया जाता है, वह इस बार कम बोया जाएगा और वहां पर लोग-बाग गेहूं नहीं बल्कि सरसों बोएंगे क्योंकि सरसों की कीमत ज्यादा है। आप के

[श्री मोहन लाल रुखाडिया]

पास गेहूँ का बफर स्टॉक पहले के मुकाबले में कम हो चुका है और अगले महीने जो प्राइस आप तय करें, वह बहुत सोच समझ कर करें कि कितना प्रोक्वोरमेंट कर पाएंगे या नहीं कर पाएंगे। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि डीजल की प्राइसेज के साथ गेहूँ की प्राइसेज भी एस्कालेट करने लगे। एक बार गेहूँ की प्राइस बढ़ जाती है, तो उस का असर अपने आप दूसरे सीरियल्स और फलसेज के ऊपर भी पड़गा। इसलिए वक्त से चेतने की जरूरत है। इसी तरह से चने की पैदावार कम होगी। ड्राई ब्रेल्ट के अन्दर, राजस्थान के अन्दर और हरियाणा के अन्दर लाखों बीघा जमीन में सितम्बर और अक्टूबर के महीनों में वारिश की वजह से मोआस्चर हो जाता था और उस मोआस्चर में चना पैदा किया जाता था। इस साल वहाँ पर हल नहीं चल पाए हैं। वहाँ पर जर्मन्स ड्राऊट है और ड्राऊट होने की वजह से चने के भावों में वृद्धि होती रही है। व्यापारियों ने आने वाले सीजन को देखते हुए कि चने के कम होने के आसार हैं, अपना काम शुरू कर दिया और इन सब चीजों का ध्यान रखा है। मैं यह कहूँगा कि आप भी इस तरफ ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान दें और यह देखें कि गेहूँ की कीमत न बढ़ जाए और गेहूँ तथा दूसरी चीजें लोगों को आसानी से मिलती रहें, इसके लिए अभी से कदम उठाएं।

एक तरफ आसाम के एजीटेशन की वजह से मायल में डिफिकल्टी पैदा हो रही है और विदेशों से लाने में भी मुश्किलें हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि बक्त आया है कि कुछ ऐसा भालूम पड़े कि इसके मामले में आस्टेरिटी मेजर्स सक्ती के साथ लिये जा रहे हैं। अभी जो ऐसा भालूम होता है जैसे तेल

की बहुतायत है, सिवाय इन्डस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन के लिए और दूसरी ऐसी चीजों के लिए जैसे खेती/कार या दूसरे लक्सजरी ट्रिप्स के अन्दर चाहे जिस तरह लोग घूमते हैं, जब तक कि पेट्रोल पम्प पर मिलना बन्द न हो जाए या डीजल पम्प पर डीजल मिलना बन्द न हो जाए। लेकिन अब पायरिटी इस बात को बीजानी चाहिए कि किसानों की जरूरतें पूरी हों और उन को वक्त पर डीजल मिलता रहे ताकि उन को इस से ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा हो सके।

अभी यहाँ कहा गया कि अन्त्योदय की योजनाओं को बन्द कर दिया गया है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो भाषण दिया था उस में 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम के बारे में कहा गया है कि हमारी नीति हमारा आधार वह होगा। असल में अन्त्योदय प्रोग्राम 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम का एक अंग मात्र है, उस से ज्यादा कुछ नहीं है।

यहाँ पर अभी यह भी जिक्र किया गया है कि सिर्फ हाउस के अन्दर वैटिल नहीं लड़ी जाएगी, जरूरत पड़ी तो खेतों और कारखानों के अन्दर भी वैटिल लड़ी जाएगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस आधार को छोड़ देना चाहिए। इस भाषा में बात करने से कोई लाभ नहीं होता है। अगले चुनाव के मौके पर जो हालात हों, उन का लाभ भी उठा सकते हैं लेकिन इस बीच में असंतोष पैदा करने का तरीका अगर अपनाया जाएगा, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर किफ़ोस पैदा हो जायेगा और कोई दूसरा फायदा नहीं होने वाला है। मैं समझता हूँ कि विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों को यह भावना चाहिए कि आज के जो हालात हैं उन में वे सुझाव दें और क्रिटीसाइज करें, इस को मैं

बुरा नहीं मानता लेकिन मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह मान कर चलना होगा कि अगर आज के हालात को कोई ठीक कर सकेगा, तो वे कांग्रेस (आई) है या इन्दिरा गांधी जी ठीक कर सकेंगी और कोई ठीक नहीं कर सकेगा। यह तथ्य है। मैं किसी वजह से यह नहीं कहता हूँ वल्कि मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पांच वर्ष तक कोई चुनाव नहीं होने वाले हैं। मोरारजी भाई के कह देने से कि साल भर में सरकार टूटेगी और चुनाव हो जाएगा, वह होने वाला नहीं है। यह आत्म-संतोष की बात हो सकती है, आत्म-संतोष कर के बैठ सकते हैं कि साल भर में मौका आने वाला है। पांच वर्ष तक कौन हल करेगा? कौन ठीक कर के चलेगा? यह संतोष करके मत चलिए कि जनता पार्टी की तरह यह पार्टी टूट जाएगी और बीच में ही चुनाव का मौका मिल जाएगा, इस मुहालते में न रहिए। बजाए इसके कि आज जो आन्दोलन छड़े जा रहे हैं, चाहे असम आन्दोलन हो, चाहे गन्ने वालों का हो, कोई हड़ताल का मामला हो, चाहे प्राइसेस का मामला हो, हर आन्दोलन में कूड़ने के बजाए कंस्ट्रक्टिव तरीके से सहयोग की भावना से काम लें।

इतना ही मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Samar Mukherjee. I would like to restrict the time. Since you are the sole speaker, you can be allowed fourteen minutes.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): You have counted the heads; for me fourteen minutes are given. For others you have not.

MR. CHAIRMAN: For the party, the time is allotted.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: This is a very serious subject. So, a serious discussion is necessary. All Members must give their patient hearing to the points of view of different parties. The question of rise in prices is not to be considered in isolation. The crisis of the economy, I am addressing.... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Through the Chair.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I am addressing always through the Chair. That does not mean, the head should always be towards you. Heads can turn towards others also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can look up also.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Yes, Sir. We are now in the midst of a deepening economic crisis. It is not only a question of rise in prices though the subject of to-day's discussion is 'rise in prices'. That is why I say the entire economy should be considered. If you really want to bring about a turn the basic factors which led to this situation to-day must also be deeply analysed.

Our country had become Independent; more than thirty three years ago and we claim that we are building our economy through the Plans. That is through the planned economy. See the result of the five Five Year Plans. We are now entering into the Sixth Five Year Plan. As a result of the planned economy, the poor has become poorer and the rich has become richer. The money is concentrated in the hands of a few. This is the economy which we are building up. Whatever may be your subjective desire, our economy has strengthened in the monopoly houses, the blackmarketeers and the exploiting classes. If you analyse this objectively, this Government is an instrument at the hands of these sections which are utilising all the policies of the Government and the

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

economic plans to increase their profits thus leading to concentration of money in the hands of a few. This is the basic position. Why is this so? Because, our Government is building up a capitalist economy. That is why a few of the industrial houses have developed into monopoly houses and the traders and hoarders have also become the monopoly traders and hoarders, their power of manipulation on the prices has become so much powerful that they are much more powerful than ministers. They can purchase ministers, politicians and the departmental heads. Shri Panigrahi just now said how twenty-two thousand ration shops in Madhya Pradesh had to be closed because sugar allotted to these shops all went into black-market. This is the link whereby things are going into the black-market for earning profit which is the essential motive of the capitalist society. In a capitalist society there is production for profit and distribution for profit. So, the entire motive is self-centred and nobody thinks of the nation or the people. That is why this capitalist system in today's conditions has become totally out-moded. So, a new system is coming. It is knocking into the doors of our country and that has got reflected in our constitution as is enshrined in the Preamble itself. The superiority of the socialist system has been established by facts. There is no inflation in those countries. There is no price rise and there is no unemployment and poverty. (*Interruptions*)

The contradiction in Congress (I) friends is that they have accepted socialism as their objective but by their practice they are anti-socialist and they are following the capitalist countries as their model. This is the contradiction. Our Constitution in the Directive Principles categorically says that disparity of income should

be reduced. The Government policy should be pursued in such a way so that people can get their wages and right to job should be ensured. But for the last thirty-three years the economy we have pursued has led to the opposite results. There is phenomenal increase in unemployment. Poverty is increasing. Concentration of money in the hands of a few is increasing. So, we find that the black-marketeers, hoarders and monopolists have an over-whelming influence over the administration, government, ministers and politicians. That is why politics has de-generated to such a state where MPs and MLAs can be purchased. It is a very serious thing which must be given serious thought.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who has purchased you?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I have been purchased by the working class and the socialist ideology. I will fight to the last to see that this country becomes a socialist country free from poverty and exploitation.

Sir, why is there price rise? Prof. Dandavate has said that one of the main reasons is deficit financing. Correct. Why deficit financing? It is because Government does not have resources to cover up the expenditure which is before them. Why no resources? Because they are reluctant to attack the monopoly houses. What is their policy? They have given tax concessions to the big houses because they feel the more you tax them the more they try to evade. So, reduce the tax and some will pay. How can the Monopoly Houses evade taxes when there is a strict law? It is because the entire administration which is responsible for enforcing the income-tax laws, are purchasable. That is why they can evade. This is the administration. This is the system under which we are now functioning. So, give concessions, more and more concessions. You are giving more and more concession to the Monopoly Houses, you are inviting multinationals, even you are inviting more loans from World Bank, how can you expect

that the poor people will be able to get their essential commodities at a reasonable and fair price? It cannot be. That is why a change of policy is the urgent need of the time. I have no time to deal with it in detail. If friends invite us for some discussion, we are prepared to place our point of view. I am not placing a new point of view today. Repeatedly we have been demanding that in order to bring down the prices and to bring stability in the prices, the only way is a full-scale system of distribution of essential commodities. But to enforce that, the Government must have physical possession of those commodities. If you declare that so many fair price shops I am opening, there should be enough essential commodities under your position for distribution. But if the picture of Madhya Pradesh is prevailing everywhere, there will be no impact on the price rise if you open so many fair price shops. Unless you guarantee the supply of essential commodities through those shops at a fair price, there is no use of opening them. My demand is that the price should be within the reach of the common man and for that Government should give required subsidy for issue price so that the common man is in a position to get all the essential commodities at a cheaper price. And for that when you require more money, you unearth black money, you just freeze the reserve money held by the monopoly houses. They have got so much money at the cost of the poor people.

Now, we have demanded repeatedly that monopoly houses must be nationalised. Without nationalising the monopoly houses, keeping everything in their control, you cannot bring stability in the prices. Now, the life-saving drugs have disappeared from the market, cement has disappeared. Why? Because the drug industries are in the hands of the multinationals and the monopolists. What did the Government do? When there has been a slight fall in price the Government came forward to raise the prices. Only on 21st, in reply to Mr. Indrajit Gupta's supplementaries, Mr. V. C. Shukla told us that, because their

cost of production has increased, we are raising the prices of some drugs, we are raising the price of paper, as we have increased the price of levy sugar. So, if the Government itself comes forward and increases the prices only to satisfy the monopoly houses and the big traders, how can you bring about stability in price and also bring down the prices. You cannot do that.

Now, the argument is if you give higher prices to the sugarcane growers, the price of sugar will increase. Why should the price of sugar increase? Sugarcane growers as far as I know, are getting now Rs. 16 per quintal. Now I have a calculation with me. For one quintal of sugarcane, 10 kg. of sugar can be obtained. If they sell sugar at Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 per kg. in the market, that means they get Rs. 100 from one quintal of sugarcane purchased at Rs. 16 only. But they are reluctant to pay more to the sugarcane growers, say Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 which the growers are demanding. Why this cannot be done? Government should nationalise the sugar factories. You have to pay the sugarcane growers their remunerative price. You can also give sugar at a cheaper price to the people. If some subsidy is necessary, you give it from the Government treasury fund or get that from the money of the big monopoly house owners. In West Bengal, the jute growers are crying, but jute magnates are earning huge profits. Government has failed to give them remunerative prices. They are demanding Rs. 250/- per quintal of raw jute. The Kisan Sabha has demanded Rs. 300/- per quintal, but from where will the money come? Our Commerce Minister has asked. We say that the money should be extracted from the jute barons because they are earning huge profits. I have also got the figures in respect of cotton. I would like to quote what Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet, hon. Member of the other House said in that House in this connection:

"Assuming Rs. 300/- per quintal as the price of standard staple cotton (which the Government never

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

assures) and Rs. 250/- for lesser varieties (which is around what the grower is getting) the mixture of standard, series and lower varieties used for production of cloth should cost Rs. 275/- a quintal. Ten and half quintals of kapas is needed to produce 360 kgs. of cotton lint and also give 650 kgs. of cotton seeds, etc. I have tried to work out that the prices of cloth is much higher. Whereas 45 per cent component in the production of cloth is cotton, its price remains below Rs. 300, and the price of cloth which we have to purchase has gone up many times during the last few years."

So, you can pay the cotton grower remunerative price and force the textile mill owners to contribute the money for this payment to the cotton growers. The Government is incapable of doing these things. That is my main basic point. You have completely surrendered to the big houses and big industrialists. That is why there is total failure in bringing down the prices and bringing stability in prices. How is the price manipulation done? Suddenly, the commodity disappears; Shri Sukhadia was also telling about that. Outside, you can purchase the commodity at a higher price; you cannot get the same at the controlled price. These are the ramifications now developed after thirty-three years of capitalist economy; this profit motive is running through production distribution, business and everything. These ramifications are now much more powerful. That is why, it is very difficult for the Government to change the entire course of this process. It is very difficult unless the present policies are basically changed and the Government work firmly for the interest of the common man. If you have to work for the interest of the common man, you have to take physical possession of essential commodities including foodgrains. But the peasant must be paid remunerative prices for that. There should be direct purchase from them; there should not be any private trading in the wholesale foodgrain. There

should not be any private trading in other essential commodities. All this should be undertaken by the Government and you should develop the required infrastructure throughout the country. As suggested by our West Bengal Chief Minister in the meeting of the National Development Council, at least twelve essential commodities including foodgrains, cloth, kerosene, sugar, edible oils, life saving drugs etc. should be distributed throughout the country at a uniform price; there should be no difference. If that is possible, you are to try seriously for that. Price can be brought down. But if you fail to do that, any talk of trying to bring down price-level will not have any impact. For the time being, there may be slight decline in wholesale price. I got papers, a report, on the decline. "An agency report quoting official sources puzzling indicates that there was a fall by 3 points, in the wholesale price index for that week ending. It says 1.2 per cent. It says that the price index fell from 265 points to 262 points in a week in account of a crash in the price of gur and khandsari." That is why there has been some decline. For other commodities there is no decline and if you create illusion on this basis, you will present a very wrong picture before the House that prices started declining. There is another argument "You increase production to bring parity between circulation of money and circulation of commodities". If there is a parity, there should be no rise in prices. But, in our economy, whenever you produce more, as the case of Commercial Crops for which the peasants are producing, the price completely crashes. In case of sugarcane, in case of onion, if you produce more, immediately price will crash before the growers bring this commodity for sale. So, the more you produce, the more you are ruined. That is the economy now in the villages. I explain the position in relation to the industry. In the factory, production has increased. Only three, four days before, I brought one deputation to our new Labour Minister. It is of the Union leaders from Bangalore of Indian Tobacco Corporation a big

multinational. There, earlier the production was 21,000 tonnes, and the labour were 3,000. Now the production is 45,000 tonnes, and the number of workers is 2,000.

Sir, the more you produce, the more the unemployment for the workers, because it is a capitalist system. They are after reducing the cost of production. That is why, these big monopoly houses know if they are to reduce the cost of production, the burden will fall on the commercial crop growers, peasantry must be ruined, because they will be forced to sell at a much cheaper price the raw materials and the workers, who will be forced to give higher workload and also by introducing modern machinery, big employers are throwing thousands and thousands of workers and employees out of employment, by introducing automation and other things. But, in a socialist country, the situation is just the opposite, because their right to work has been guaranteed as a fundamental right in the Constitution, and nobody loses the job. They are introducing automation. Production is increasing. And that production is going to the benefit of the common people. Here, production is increasing such as of the Tobacco Corporation, but the factory owners, they are multinationals, are raising the prices of tobacco products on the one hand and they are throwing out a large number of workers from jobs. This is the system under which we are living. Unless this system is basically, fundamentally changed, there is no way out for the common man. For temporary measures, you can take some measures, particularly immediately the public distribution system should be fully strengthened with absolute physical possession of the essential commodities. But to prevent corruption in the distribute, centres there should be, all parties committee to supervise these fair price shops.

SHRI B. V. DESAI (Raichur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the subject which is being discussed today in this august House is the rise in prices of essential commodities including sugar. In

fact, we are all very much worried about the rise in prices. Many hon. members have spoken on this subject. I will restrict myself to two points which are very vital from the point of view of the price. One is the production based on remunerative prices to the farmer. The second is about the population control. I think no hon. member has touched the second point.

Just now, one of the hon. members said that two-thirds of the members of this august house have got agricultural background. It may be true. Mostly, out of essential commodities, two or three most important commodities have been selected for a discussion. One happens to be sugar. Sugar is one of the important commodities essential for us and the price of this commodity has gone up. There is some technical explanation which I would like to present before this House. The rise in price should not be over and above the cost price. No commodity can come down, so far as price is concerned, below the cost level. The cost of production, cultivation of sugarcane and the availability of all the commodities in the market do contribute to each other. In fact, the stock which was there previously was squandered during the previous Government regime and as a result of that within 10 months, we are experiencing that shortage and the resultant price rise.

We all know that sugarcane cannot be grown in one day or two days or in one month or two months; it has to be grown through a number of months, between 12 and 15 months in order to see that the sugar comes into the market. There is a proverb in Urdu:

नार्दा दोस्त से दाना दुश्मन बेहतर है

During the Prime Ministership of Chaudhuri Charan Singh—he is a very good friend of the farmers—with due respect, I would say that in order to help the farmers, he just

[Shri B. V. Desai]

did the other way round and hundreds and thousands of acres of sugarcane were burnt by their colleagues. (Interruptions) Whatever it is, I do not want to go to that extent. So far as his policies were concerned, with good intention, probably he did try to help them. But, unfortunately the result was the very reverse of that; the result was that whatever stock was there which was built up through great difficulty was squandered and no fresh stock of sugarcane was coming. That is the reason why we are in this trouble.

Now, throughout the country, specially, in the South, I can tell you, the agriculturists have taken up this issue. They have been for long denied the remunerative prices. The result is that the commodity has vanished or the stock has come down and the result is that there is increase in price. If we analyse the situation, we will find that out of the total production of 100 tonnes, 65 per cent is taken by the Government as levy sugar at a price of Rs. 2.85 per kg. Now, it has been increased to Rs. 3.00. The rate is 65:35 I wanted it 50:50. If it is raised, probably a little remunerative price can be given to the agriculturists, so far as that commodity is concerned. It applies to other commodities also. Let us not forget the kisan of this country. During the Sixties when we were moving round the world with a begging bowl for PL-480, it was the kisan who brought us out of the clutches of PL-480 by his green revolution. Today when we are facing difficulties due to oil price rise, let us fall back upon the same seasoned, well-intentioned kisan of our country. Let us pay him a little remunerative price. He is not asking something with avarice. Our own self interest is also involved in that. If we give remunerative price he will grow more. When I am talking about sugarcane I mean other commodities also. That is being ridiculed. It pained me yesterday to listen to the hon. Minister's speech when he said that the agitation of the kisans was politically motivated. Kisans are not politically

motivated. Political party leaders are going after them to have cheap popularity. In fact the unrest in the Southern States is for nothing but for basic survival. In order to get more production, I plead that remunerative price for all agricultural commodities, if possible at par with other industrial products should be given.

That brings us to the question of fixation of prices in this country. There is an Agricultural Prices Commission. I do not know how I should explain the anomaly of this price fixation. Last year the price was Rs. 125 per quintal and this year they have increased it by Rs. 5 very magnanimously and declared that it is Rs. 130 per quintal, as against the rise in the input for the agriculturist of Rs. 600 per tonne. Very magnanimous. Our Prime Minister came out and straightaway she said that it should be Rs. 160 she gave that directive. Even that was *ad hoc*. It has to be worked out scientifically; the time has come when the riot in the country should be given a fair deal. Wherever there is an agitation, even CPM people go there and support it; they support people whom they call kulaks. I do not know how that could be reconciled with their philosophy, Marxist philosophy.

When prices rise so many other things will happen. The input for agriculture is based mainly on petroleum products—particularly naphtha. We heard from Government sources that about 13 gas-based fertilizer factories can be had and their capacity would be 3000 tonnes per day. They should be taken up immediately. Due to difficulties in import of crude, economy is suffering; the cost of production of essential commodities depends on that. I feel that if the cost of production could be reduced a little and remunerative prices are given, commodities will be in good supply and definitely prices will come down. Talks are probably going on. It is high time that not even a single day was lost because the season is fast finishing and the Government should

take the initiative so that the cane which is already there is not destroyed and further cultivation also is possible. They should get a little remunerative price for that. The same holds good for other commodities also, as I told. In the same way, the population explosion in this country which has not been touched by many hon. speakers in this House is very important.

Even population is increasing with great speed, by 2000 or 2020 I think we will be 100 crores. We will exceed the population of China even. In China they have reduced their growth. Therefore, we have to take population control measures or family planning measures. In this connection, Sir, I will be failing in my duty if I don't mention the late Sanjay Gandhi who was very much responsible for this and whom all the opposition members pooh-poohed. A day will come when we all have to think more seriously about this problem. Whatever we produce will not be sufficient at all. In fact in 1947 we were only 25 crores, 33 crores in undivided India, 25 crores were in India. Today we are 66 crores. Definitely, if this speed of population growth is there, we will be about 80 crores or 90 crores by 2000 and by 2020 we will be 100 crores. This aspect has to be taken into consideration as a long term measure but non-the-less a start has to be made. That is lacking. Probably the Government is thinking that they must ask all the voluntary organisations and other institutions to come forward and do their job, but non-the-less the Government also has to take into consideration this problem very seriously. So, other aspects have been looked into. The distribution policy for every 2,000 population one fair price shop and all these things have been mentioned by different speakers. I do not want to dilate on them but one thing I would like to speak here is that it is one of the major burning problems of this country and the Government has to make up their mind to move in the right direction and see that price rise

is controlled and we give the cheapest rate to all the consumers of this country. In fact, whenever the price fixation is done, for all the industrial commodities, it is done with a view to increase the cost of production. Whereas, whenever the essential commodities produced by the cultivator are taken into account some other orientation is taken there. Yes, I do agree, consumer orientation has to be taken into account. Actually, the cost or price, the cost of cultivation has to be taken into account. With these words, I finish my speech.

SHRI KAMAL NATH (Chhindwara): Sir, while listening to the speeches made by my friends on this subject I say both the opposition and... (*Interruptions*).

Sir, instead of using the price rise as an excuse for condemning the Government they should do well to ponder over the cause for price rise in the last eleven months. Does Shri Madhu Dandavate who brought in this motion, think that the Centre is solely responsible for this price rise? And something which is going unchecked by the Central Government. (*Interruptions*)... Are they referring to price rise as a continuous phenomenon which the present Government is not trying to curb?

(*Interruptions*)

17.00 hrs.

I am afraid the learned opposition members have got their facts wrong and I would like to place some facts before the House.

The fact is that the leapfrogging inflation my opposition friends are talking about exists only in their speeches and not in the facts. By this, I don't mean to say that prices have not risen. All I want to say is that the price-rise is not rising. I draw your attention to the fact that the monthly rate of rise in the wholesale price index has come down from 4.1

[Shri Kamal Nath]

per cent in July, 1980 to 1.1 per cent in August, 1 per cent in September and just 0.6 per cent in October. The average monthly rate of 1.1 per cent in the August to October quarter was much lower than the average of 3.2 per cent during May, June and July. During the last three weeks ending October 25, November 1 and November 8 respectively, the wholesale price index has dipped significantly by 1.2 per cent, 1.7 per cent and 0.5 per cent respectively. These are some of the facts which I wanted to place before the House with which I propose to preface my speech. Let it be noted that my opposition friends are raking up a debate on the prices at a time when the prices have reached a plateau and are now on their way down. The timing of the motion shows that it is entirely political. However, what I want to impress here is the underlying cause, the factors behind the price rise. Are the opposition members implying in this august House that the rise is entirely due to local, indigenous factors? Are they unaware of the global inflation caused by the hike in petroleum prices? Let us not overlook or minimise the ominous significance of the world-wide petroleum crisis and its impact on this country of ours. Of the 31 million tonnes of crude that India consumes, 18 million tonnes have to come from abroad. Of these 18 million tonnes, 11 million tonnes were to come from the two countries Iran and Iraq, which are now engaged in war and we have not had any oil from them for the last couple of months. As a result, we are compelled to make spot purchases of crude oil at the international market at high rates. Is the world-wide fuel crisis the creation of Mrs. Gandhi?

17.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Back in India, whatever little crude we were welling has been tapering

out because of the long-drawn agitation in Assam. The agitation has stopped a guaranteed supply of 4.5 million tonnes per year, which is 60 per cent of the country's on-shore production and 30 per cent of the country's total production. Including the loss due to picketing of the pipelines for crude oil and petroleum products, the agitation is costing the national exchequer Rs. 4 crores a day, which is over Rs. 1000 crores a year. In Assam, what are our opposition friends doing? I am told the Janata Party is supporting the agitation and Mr. George Fernandes is a very dear name to the agitators. If the opposition members are so worried about the prices here, perhaps they could assist the Government in finding some solution and some way of defusing the Assam situation.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Nadar, are you speaking or Mr. Kamal Nath is speaking? Do not exhaust everything. You will get your chance.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You were asking this discussion. But I do not find any seriousness in the discussion. I am very sorry to say that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KAMAL NATH: Apart from the general effect of the international and Indian fuel crisis, there are one or two other points to which I would like to draw the attention of the House through you, Sir. If you look at the overall rise of 12.8 per cent in wholesale prices this year, I mean the period ending November 8, 1980, you will be surprised to find that as much as 44 per cent of it is due to the three allied items—sugar, Khand-sari and gur. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If you have got any other figure, you can repudiate those figures. (Interruptions)

SHRI KAMAL NATH: My friends from the opposition are now crying hoarse over the rise in the sugar price. Be that as it may. I am not going to waste the valuable time of the House in dwelling upon the sordid details of how sugarcane crop was burnt in the field during the Janata time because the Government at that time refused to ensure remunerative price to the farmers. It is a fact known to every student of the recent economic history.

However, what is regrettable is the fact that the same people who are responsible for the fall in sugar production this year, are now trying to pose as inquisitors. The sugarcane production hurtled down to 128 million tonnes last year from 156.5 million tonnes in the year before last. And, sugar production declined from 5.84 million tonnes in 1978-79 to 3.85 million tonnes in 1979-80. Sugarcane is a plant that takes a year to grow and not like some of my opposition friends who have grown overnight. (Interruptions) This year's failure is the result of the last year's sin. The declining trend in sugar production was initiated by the Janata rule and figures testify to that. I would invite my friends on that side to correct these figures or to prove these figures to be wrong.

In 1977-78, the country produced 6.46 million tonnes of sugar. Then it came down to 5.84 million tonnes. The opening stock of 3.3 million tonnes in October, 1978 declined to 2.1 million tonnes in October, 1979. Who frittered away the stocks? Who brought about an entirely uncalled for decontrol of sugar in 1978, and thus caused prices to crash all over the country? Was it Shrimati Gandhi?

As of today, 65 per cent of the entire sugar production is being routed through the public distribution system to be sold at the controlled price of Rs. 2.80 per kg. It may be slightly more now because of the

recent rise in the levy price. But who consumes the controlled sugar? The ordinary people, the common man, the masses. And who eats the balance 35 per cent? The luxury class, the upper class.

The learned Members of the Opposition now have to decide whose cause they are going to defend. I think, there is no point in shedding tears for the common man because the common man is getting his sugar at the controlled rate. I am in favour of the suggestion that this controversy about 65 per cent and 35 per cent must once and for all end. I think the only solution lies in a decision to take over the entire sugar distribution. If the entire sugar is sold through the ration shops, then we can plug the loopholes which are creating the hoarders and black-marketeters.

The opposition is making much of the rise in prices of vegetables. Last year the prices of vegetables rose by 16 per cent. In the last 11 months the prices of vegetables have risen only by 6 per cent. Even this rise is mainly because of the cost push arising out of the fuel cost and transportation cost.

Some of the opposition members are Marxists and I suppose they know their school-room economics well. I hope they are aware of the financial havoc created by the Janata-Lok-Del-Government, by opening the flood-gates of uncontrolled money supply. In 1976-77, the year the Congress Government gave way to the Janata, the budgetary deficit was of the order of Rs. 131 crores. It sky-rocketed to Rs. 951 crores in 1977-78 and Rs. 2,500 crores in 1978-79. The money supply with the public swelled at an average rate of 18.1 per cent during these three years. Its impact on the prices was not felt because when the money supply is increased, the impact is not felt initially; but, ultimately it grows like a cancer on the economy. I agree

[Shri Kamal Nath]

with my hon. friend, Prof. Dandavate on this.

When my party came to power, we inherited this Augean Stable. This was a situation when the nation was passing through the worst drought of the century. I am afraid this is a point is being missed and overlooked and minimised by many of our friends in the opposition. We took over the Government at a time when production was falling in the field, standing crops were being destroyed by lack of water and the whole thing was blowing up into a near-famine situation. That was the position when we came to power in the middle of January this year, and it is only because of the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi that we have been able to get out from the situation with which we started ... (Interruptions)

Money supply has declined by over Rs. 1,000 crores in the current financial year, as against a rise of Rs. 1,637 crores in the corresponding period last year. In the final analysis, it is money supply position which determines inflation. Even a deficit budget with a curtailed money supply position will not lead to inflation. I will not go into it, because that would take too much time of the House. It is one of the basics of economics. The single factor of bringing down the money supply position, I think, is one of the most important doses injected into our economy, and for this our hon. Finance Minister deserves appreciation from the entire House. In fact, I would go a step further and I would request the hon. Finance Minister that a constitutional amendment be moved, restraining any future Government from increasing the money supply position greater than the percentage increase in the nominal gross national product, because finally it is the money supply position which will determine inflation, which will determine the destiny of this nation on the economic front.

For the first time in the last three years, we have been able to turn the corner. I believe we can achieve much more if we can banish, if necessary by force, all forms of corruption from the economy, such as hoarding and black-marketing. But, there again, the opposition seem to come in the way. On the one hand, the opposition is trying to shift the entire burden of price rise on the Centre. On the other hand, it is opposing each and every act of the Government to come down heavily upon these elements.

I will just give one example of indiscriminate spending by State Governments. My learned friend, Mr. Samar Mukherjee, has talked at length about the economy, but one of the major causes of break-down in the economy is financial indiscipline. I am using the words 'indisciplined' and 'indiscriminate' spending by some of the State Governments. So, I would specifically like to mention here how West Bengal, which is a State run by his own Party, is contributing to price rise. West Bengal has been continuously overdrawing from the Reserve Bank Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 crores. (Interruptions). You physicians, why don't you heal yourselves?

Before I conclude, let me point at a very unfortunate trend which we have been noticing. The situation in this country is such that we are saddled with a completely irresponsible Opposition which owes little or no obligation to the society. As far as we are concerned, we do not wish to err on the side of optimism. But we decry the Opposition attempt to use people's distress specially at a time when the present Government is trying its best to keep the inflation at a controlled level and to harness it.

In a developing economy, we cannot wish away or do away with total inflation. There is a factor of inherent inflation in every developing economy, and I hope my friends

from the Opposition, Leftists, Rightists or Centrists or by whatever name they are called, will not disagree with me on this. This is one of the basics of the economy. Now, the kind of economy which was left behind or which was the legacy of the previous government cannot be remedied by pain-killers like Aspros and Anacins. This morass requires economic anti-biotics which will slowly but surely cure the bacteria and Virus which has been injected into our economy over the last few years. What we need is anti-biotics, not Anacins and Aspros.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Kamal Nath, you ask them to change bad bacteria into good bacteria.

SHRI KAMAL NATH: In conclusion, I would only like to remind our hon. Finance Minister, through you, Sir, that economic problems cannot be solved by political solutions. Economic problems have been and can be solved by economic solutions alone and I would request my friends in the Opposition to realise this.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Pol-lachi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am following in the footsteps of Mr. Shastri's party because that party supported the Congress Party.

Sir, at the outset, the problem of this price rise attracts a more serious attention of this House. Not only that, but the entire community is very much concerned about the price rise in this country. At the same time, as the other speakers have stated here, not only the Government, but all political parties in this country have got some responsibility to find out a way as to how this trend could be curbed. As all the political parties represented in Parliament are ruling in some State or other, they have also got some responsibility in the matter of curbing rising prices. So, I hope the concrete suggestions made by the leaders of the various parties would be taken into consideration.

Attention has also been focussed on the question whether the parliamentary or the capitalist system, whatever it maybe called, can curb the price rise, or only the socialist system can do it. This is an important point. As far as my knowledge goes, in the socialist countries there is only an one-party system, there is no freedom to criticise the Government, for open discussion about the country's economy, for issuing contradictory statements in the press. According to them a single-party system will help curb the price rise in this country. I hope those hon. Members will agree with me.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): You will be committing political hara-kiri.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Our friends Shri Samar Mukherjee and Shri Chandrajit Yadav have also said that it is only the one-party system which will help curb price rise. I hope the hon. Finance Minister and the Prime Minister will consider the suggestion of the opposition leaders.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Remove the word "socialism" from the Constitution. Why are you making this bluff?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: In that case, wherever the word "socialism" is found in other constitutions, there also it is a bluff.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Only you are true.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You want to put an end to the price rise through the democratic system.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East): He cannot question it, having taken an oath to uphold the Constitution.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Yes. We are trying to see how best we can give essential commodities at cheap rates to the common man within the

[Shri C. T. Dhandapani]
framework of the present Constitution.

Many reasons have been given for the price rise, and one of them is inflation. The hon. Professor read out some figures about inflation upto 1974 and then went on to the Janata period, but according to the reports available with me, supplied by Parliament, this is the position regarding the inflationary trend as far as all items are concerned. In 1975 it was 5.6 per cent, in 1976 it was—7.8 per cent. So far as food articles are concerned, in 1975 it was 4.4 per cent, in 1976 it was —12.6 per cent. This is the situation. Now the inflationary tendency is increasing. There is no doubt about it. In 1975-76 the inflationary tendency was curbed. The simple reason was that at that time, in 1975-76, administration was projected in such a way that it was geared up towards the black money as well as the hoardings. That was the reason why inflationary tendency was reduced in those days. So, I request the Government that such type of effective administrative measures should be taken to arrest inflation in the present condition.

He had also stated about the trade deficit as well as export and import. I am very sorry to say that we are in a bad state of affairs in the matter of export. We must work hard and the Government should look into it. We should fill the gap between export and import. We will then be in a position to arrest inflation in this country.

Our previous speaker had stated that the responsibility lies both at the Central Government as well as at the States in the matter of distribution. All the Members have particularly stated about the defective distribution system in the country. There is dual responsibility. Whatever the Central Government gives, it has to be distributed through the agency of the State Government. That has been done in many parts of the country. But in some parts of the country it has become so defective

that it has become necessary for the Central Government to see that it reaches the common people. For example the Central Government has given licence to the State Government of Tamilnadu to import Palmolive Oil worth Rs. 2,50,00,000. The Civil Supplies Corporation in Tamilnadu, instead of distributing that oil to the public they sold it to a private man. He was selling that at a higher rate. The police confiscated the goods. He placed the matter before the court. The court gave a verdict because the State Government did not raise any objection against the trader, Palmolive oil should be handed over to the trader and he can sell it in the open market. Such kind of situation should not arise in future. The Central Government should have its own infra-structure to see that it is properly distributed.

Another important point is about sugar. It has been stated that sugar muddle has been going on all these years. Even in 1978 there was a suggestion by the Committee that buffer stock of 1.2 million tonnes should be there so that in future sugar scarcity should not take place. Sugar was de-controlled by the then Government. At that time Government fixed a price of Rs. 300 per quintal. The millers made more money—Rs. 200 for bag. The millers were even then not satisfied. What did they do? They reduced production. They pretended that sugar cane was not available. There was a shortfall in production. They created artificial scarcity. By that, they sold sugar at higher prices.

Now, I want to place some facts before the House. I do not know whether the Sugar Directorate in Delhi have got proper accounts and statistics in regard to actual production of sugar. I do not think they have got proper statistics. Whatever figures the sugar mills supply, they record them. I know, many sugar factories in the country do not supply levy sugar to the common man.

But, at the same time, they send a statement to the Sugar Directorate that they have already delivered and distributed levy sugar to the common man. Many of the sugar factories sell levy sugar at higher prices. This is what is happening. I can quote many instances. As far as the Sugar Directorate is concerned, they are supporting black-marketeers and, at the same time, the sugar mill-owners, who are indulging in such malpractices. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to take note of it and see that such things do not happen.

The sugar mill-owners have got a powerful lobby in the country. I suggest that the sugar industry should be nationalised. Only 40 per cent of sugar factories are with the cooperatives and the remaining 60 per cent remain with the big capitalists. The sugar industry should be nationalised. The sugar magnates are making a lot of money. I would like to make one suggestion, that is, either the sugar industry should be nationalised or sugar mills should be handed over to farmers. For example, on our side, in the villages, the farmers used to take paddy to the mills to convert it into rice and take back the rice. They will pay the conversion charge. In the same way, sugarcane growers can take their sugarcane to mills for converting it into sugar. They will pay the conversion charge and take back sugar to the villages. In that way, the sugar will be sold at a cheaper price for the simple reason that the small farmers, ordinary agriculturists, will not keep the stock for many months.

Here, I want to make another request to the hon. Minister. The Central Government is getting a revenue of Rs. 165 crores in a year in the form of basic excise duty and additional excise duty from sugar. What I suggest is that this revenue of Rs. 165 crores should be given up so that the people may get sugar at a cheaper rate.

Before I conclude, I would request the hon. Minister to see that these

things are done immediately because our common object is to feed the common man. We do not bother whether we have got the right of freedom of speech and all that. We are very much worried about feeding the common man. With these words, I conclude.

श्री शिव प्रसाद साहू (रांची) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री मधु दण्डवते जी ने चीनी तथा आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में लगातार वृद्धि के सम्बन्ध में जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखा है, मैं आप के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में इन वस्तुओं के जो दाम बढ़ रहे हैं, इस के कई कारण हैं। आज भारत वर्ष में ही नहीं, बल्कि सारे संसार में, चीन में, रूस में, अमरीका में, सभी देशों में चीजों के दामों में काफी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। फिर भी हम इस मामले में खुशकिस्मत हैं कि अन्य देशों के मुकाबले में हमारे भारत में जो भी दाम बढ़े हैं वे काफी कम हैं। आज पाकिस्तान में चीनी 25 रुपये किलो बिक रही है।

मैं यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी, उस वक्त उस के हालात क्या थे। उस की गलत नीतियों के कारण और आपस में लड़ाई झगड़े के कारण सामानों के दाम बढ़ने शुरू हुए और उसी का नतीजा यह है कि आज हमें मूल्य वृद्धि को रोकने में कठिनाई हो रही है। जनता पार्टी के शासन के वक्त बिजली की कमी थी। सामानों के दाम में बढ़ोत्तरी शुरू हुई और यह जो रोग है, जो उन्होंने हमें बरासत में दिया है, उस बीमारी को दूर करने में समय लगेगा। उस रोग के कई कारण थे। एक कारण तो यह था कि जैसे ही ये लोग सत्ता में आए, जितने भी इन दलों के लोग थे, जितने भी उन के कार्यकर्ता थे, उन में यह होड़ लग गई कि जन वितरण प्रणाली की

[श्री शिव प्रसाद साहू]

दुकानें हमें मिलनी चाहिएं । जहां जनसंघ का संब चला, वहां उन्होंने ने अपने लोगों को खुले हाथों से जन वितरण प्रणाली की दुकानें बांटी और जहां दूसरे दलों का दबदबा था, वहां उन्होंने अपने लोगों को दुकानें बांटी । इन दुकानों को जिस ढंग से चलाना चाहिए था, वे नहीं चलाई गईं और आज भी जितनी जन वितरण प्रणाली की दुकानें हैं, वे सारी की सारी उन्हीं लोगों के पास हैं, जिन को उन के कर्णधारों ने पहले उन को दिया था । इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह कहूंगा कि ऐसे भ्रष्ट लोगों पर, इन जन वितरण प्रणाली की दुकानें चलाने वाले लोगों पर, सरकार को कड़ा अंकुश रखना चाहिए ।

दूसरी वजह यह है कि सैकड़ों वर्ष के इतिहास को यदि आप देखें तो सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं बल्कि सारे संसार में भयंकर अकाल पिछले साल पड़ा है । पंजाब, हरियाणा, दिल्ली, उड़ीसा, मध्य प्रदेश, मद्रास आदि चारों ओर भयंकर रूप से सूखा पड़ा है, जिस की वजह से फसल में कमी हुई और जब फसल में कमी होती है तो यह नेचुरल है, यह स्वाभाविक बात है कि दाम बढ़ने शुरू हो जाते हैं । चीनी की जो आज हालत है, उस की जिम्मेवार चरण सिंह जी की नीति थी । किसानों की जो मांगें थीं, उन को ठीक ढंग से पूरा नहीं किया गया, जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि लोगों ने ऊख की पैदावार करना ही बन्द कर दिया और काफी कम गन्ना हुआ । नतीजा यह हुआ कि चीनी के दाम दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ते गए और मुझे आशा है कि इस साल ऊख की जो पैदावार है, वह काफी ठीक हुई है । मुझे उम्मीद है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, जो रोग जनता पार्टी का दिया हुआ है, उस पर विजय पा सकेंगी, फतेह पाएंगी, इस में कोई दो राय नहीं हैं

इस के अलावा और भी कई वजह हैं । हमारे जो विपक्षी लोग हैं, वे इस को राजनीतिक जामा पहनाना चाह रहे हैं । जो मूल्य वृद्धि हुई है, उस का राजनीतिक लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं । आज आप यह देखिये कि नासिक में क्या हो रहा है ? वहां से जो सामान ट्रकों से भेजा जाता है, उस को रोका जा रहा है । आसाम में क्या परिस्थिति है ? आसाम में यह रोग 23 नवम्बर से, जनता पार्टी के शासन से फैला हुआ है, जो हमारे बीच चला आ रहा है । यह भी एक वजह है । हमारे माननीय सदस्य प्रो० मधु दण्डवते ने हमारी सरकार से शिकायत की । मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब वे रेल मंत्री थे, तो कितने सौ नहीं बल्कि हजारों रेलों को उन्होंने बन्द कर दिया था और रेलें बड़ी देरी से चलती थीं । जो रेल सुबह 9 बजे पहुंचनी चाहिए थी, वह रात को 9 बजे पहुंचती थी । ये सारी बातें जनता पार्टी के शासन में हुईं । रेलों की वही हालत थी, चीनी की पैदावार में जो कमी हुई, वह भी उन लोगों की नीति के कारण हुई ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के माध्यम से मैं मंत्री जी का ध्यान कुछ ठोस बातों की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूं । एक जरूरी मसला हमारे भारत वर्ष में है, खास कर पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में, उड़ीसा, हिमाचल प्रदेश, बिहार के जो पहाड़ी क्षेत्र हैं, इन में राशन वितरण व्यवस्था । होता क्या है कि जो अधिकारी हैं, सी. ओ. हैं, अंचलाधिकारी हैं, अन्य सरकारी अधिकारी हैं, वे राशन ले जा कर ब्लैक कर देते हैं, इन पर कड़ा अंकुश लगाना चाहिए । समझ लीजिए कि हमारे किसी पंचायत का 5 बोरा चीनी का कोटा आया तो उस पंचायत के जंगल, पहाड़ में रहने वाले जो लोग हैं, उनमें से देख लिया जाता है कि कौन लोग बोल सकते हैं, उन 5-10 आदमियों को बुला लिया जाता है और उन से कहा जाता है कि आप

बो की जगह पांच के० जी० चीनी ले जाइए, इस प्रकार 5-6 लोगों को चीनी दे कर उनका मुंह बंद कर दिया जाता है और बाकी की सारी चीनी ब्लैक मार्केट में बिक जाती है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमें प्रैक्टिकल रूप से यह देखना है कि वितरण प्रणाली में क्या त्रुटि है और दाम क्यों बढ़े हैं ? इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि आप राज्य सरकार को ये कड़ी हिदायत दें कि फ्लाइंग दस्तों द्वारा समय-समय पर चैक किया जाए । यदि कोई भी पंचायत का डीलर चीनी, गेहूं ले गया है तो सडेली चैकिंग होनी चाहिए कि वह पांच बोरा उसके यहां है या नहीं । पांच बोरी की जगह पंचायतों में दो बोरी ही पहुंचता है बाकी प्रति बोरी 500 से 300 रुपयों में ब्लैक कर दिया जाता है । यह भी दाम बढ़ने की एक वजह है ।

हमारे पास अब नई जो काफी अच्छी हुई है फसल आ रही है, मैं समझता हूं कि कोई वजह नहीं है कि हमारे योग्य वित्त मंत्री और हमारी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी, जिन्होंने बड़ी-बड़ी शक्तियों से टक्कर ली है, इन समस्याओं पर विजय न पा सकें, उन्हें अवश्य विजय मिलेगी, इस में दो रायें नहीं हैं ।

आप ने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इस के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East): We are nearing 6 O'Clock. Many of us did not realise that this debate would carry on for such a long time. I move that this debate be carried forward to tomorrow.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur): I support it, Sir. It is very essential.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH): Not tomorrow

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: The Mover has the right of reply. This is a very serious subject. There is diminishing return in the interest of the House on the subject...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No; the attendance is very good.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: We will have a fresh mind tomorrow. I plead that this be continued tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs wants to say something.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Before the hon. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs gives his observations, I would make one humble request. This is a motion under rule 184. Naturally, the right of reply is there. Secondly, there are eight groups still on the Opposition who have yet to speak—Congress-U, BJP, CPI, Democratic Socialist Front, National Conference, Janata, Lok Dal, Forward Block, RSP, etc. After all, they should be given at least ten minutes each. The practice here is that one Member from this side and two Members from that side are called. Even if you curtail it to 1:1, it will take at least two to two and a half hours more. My respectful submission is this. Looking to the importance of the subject and the seriousness with which all the Members are attending to the debate, I would request you and the Government also to agree to this. I would plead with the Government not to curtail the debate on this subject. There are other subjects where he can curtail the time, and we have always accommodated the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs in the Business Advisory Committee wherever he wanted it. So this subject, particularly, on the price rise can be set at rest only if some more time is given to this and some other adjustment are made in the Business Advisory Committee over the other subjects.

[Shri Satish Agarwal]

So, let it be carried over to next day. We are prepared to accommodate the Government in other issues.

SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH: The Business Advisory Committee has already fixed four hours for this debate. We have said that we shall conclude this debate today. At the maximum, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to reply to it tomorrow.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: No, no.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): I will reply to it to-day. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have a lot of other work with which I myself am engaged in the other House. It would be discourteous if I do not go to the other House. As long as this takes, I will sit and I will reply to it. Even if it takes more than one hour, I have no objection.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): How is it possible?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we shall continue to sit. We shall sit late also to-day and complete this business.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the House is correctly debating the motion moved by my hon. friend, Prof. Dandavate on the rise in prices which has been unprecedented during the last ten months.

I have heard with rapt attention the speeches made here by many hon. Members belonging to the ruling party. Unfortunately, Sir, I would like to observe at the very start of my speech that this is a subject which does not concern the Finance Minister alone. It would have been more appropriate if the Minister concerned with public distribution system, that is, the Minister for Civil Supplies and other Ministers who are concerned with Industries, Commerce, Energy, that is, the

Ministers concerned with the economic ministries, would have been present here. I think that would have been much better. I express my anguish for their absence.

So far as the speeches from the ruling side are concerned, with Mr. Sukhadia making the speech in a persuasive way, with Shri Panigrahi in a relentless defence and with Shri H. K. L. Bhagat in a vehement and aggressive manner on this particular Resolution and with Mr. Kamal Nath going to the extent of describing this motion as a politically motivated one, I would remind them that this motion contained the name of Shri B. V. Desai also who is one of the co-sponsors of my friend's motion. Do they mean to suggest that Mr. Desai also has moved the motion with political consideration? So, that way it is not fair to conclude. On the one hand the Congress Party, the ruling party, is trying to persuade the Opposition to extend full cooperation to arrive at a national consensus so far as this economic situation in the country is concerned but, on the other look at what they have been doing. Despite the tall promises made during December, 1979 in the hustings at the polls, despite all tall promises and assurances made by the Hon. Finance Minister at the time of presentation of the budget, despite the repeated assurances given by this Government to contain black marketing and check the price rise and despite the promises made by this Finance Minister in his press conference either at Ahmedabad or in New Delhi or in Calcutta, that the price rise has reached the plateau that there is going to be no price rise hereafter, I am sorry to say that this problem is assuming a very huge proportion and the whole country is very much concerned about it. We may give you the figures here or there. Some Hon. Members from this side felt a consolation in the fact that this price rise is on account of the wrong policies pursued by the Janata Party

or the Lok Dal-Congress (U) Government last year backed by the Congress (I). You may find a solution. But the fact of the matter is that if you look at the figures, to put the records straight, I would like the Finance Minister to contradict me on this score, which I am giving from the Economic Survey which was presented by the hon. Finance Minister in this House, you will find that in April 1977, the wholesale price figure was 184.1; in February 1979 it was 184.7—an increase of .6 only so far as these twenty-two months are concerned. In March 1979 it was 189.1; in July 1979 it was 211.7; in January 1980 it was 226.2; on 14th June it was 243.7; on 28th June, it was 249.9 and on the 14th July, it was 258.2.

If you analyse these figures which I have taken from the Economic Survey Report, the result is that during the first two years of the Janata Rule, the price rise was by .6 per cent. During the twenty-seven months of Janata rule—including the much-maligned Chaudhri Charan Singh budget—the price rise total was 27 points, that is, 27 months and price rise 27 points. It comes to 1 point per month. During the much maligned Lok Dal-Congress (U) government after July, 1979 till January 1980—during those five months—there was price rise of three points per month. During your regime of nine months the price rise has been four points per month—much more than the Lok Dal—Congress (U) government last year. These are the figures. Your budget brought about six points price rise within fourteen days. On 14th June the price index was 243.7 and on 28th June it was 248.9. There was price rise of 6.2 points during 14 days and during the Janata regime there was price rise of five points during two years. These are the facts, not given by me but contained in the Economic Survey which you were so generous to present before the House.

Sir, I do not want to deal much more on this aspect. I would only

say that the problem cannot be solved by accusing this government or that government. We have to see the pathology of the problem, diagnose the problem and then prescribe a treatment. In this particular connection I would humbly request the government that so far as economy is concerned let us not resort to slogan mongering particularly when all the political parties in this country want to banish poverty, reduce unemployment and reduce the income disparity. Everybody wants more production. Everybody wants prosperity. These are much more wider national issues where there is consensus. One may disagree with Mr. Mukherjee when he says that everything be nationalised. It is his conviction. He may have this conviction and speak on that basis but 90 per cent of the people in this country believe in mixed economy and, as such, there can be larger national consensus on wider national issues. There are political issues on which we may have certain confrontation but on wider national issues there is going to be no confrontation. There will have to be national consensus.

Now, what we should do? We should stop slogan mongering and taking alibis. The Janata party committed the mistake of accusing the previous Congress government and you are doing the same. Please stop this. It will not help the country and the people. You must stop blaming the past governments and also you must stop double talk. If you want to deal with certain anti-social elements you do it. If you say something you must do it. So far as politicalisation is concerned you must not politicalise economic issues. Our position is very much clear. Something should be done. The price rise takes place after the presentation of the budget. Why so? Because on the basis of present taxation structure in our country we get three-fourth of the revenue by way of indirect taxes and one-fourth by way of direct taxes. You increase the

[Shri Satish Agarwal]

direct taxes, there is not going to be any price rise. It is only when indirect taxes are raised that there is going to be a price rise. And this is going to happen in this country despite any Government whatsoever may come to office, so long as this taxation system is prevalent in this country. So, we have to reverse the system. We must have 3/4th revenue from direct taxes and 1/4th from indirect taxes. Unless we have this system, unless we switch over to this system—that would be very difficult, that is not so easy and in regard to excise levy I do not mean that you can switch over to the new system next year or within six months—we will not be successful in our attempt to stop the price rise. But this requires some probe some thought over it and the Government has to consider how to reduce the indirect taxation impact and increase the direct taxation impact.

Regarding income, wage and price policy, Government has got a report. We have to decide about it and take a firm decision about it because there are people in this country who are not having two square meals a day. As my hon. friend Shri Sukhadia said, even a chaprasi is getting Rs. 1200 per month in a Bank while the average per capita annual income is Rs. 1200. So, these are all the points which we have to consider. Similarly, you have to consider about the infrastructure facilities for better production. The prices should be fixed. Give all facilities for production. Unless production is increased, nothing can be done, no public distribution is going to be successful. So, production should be increased, capacity should be utilised to the maximum, all facilities of infrastructure should be provided. Then and then alone the Government will be able to evolve a mechanism whereby the prices could be fixed. All those essential commodities should be marked with price labels and those should be exhibited, and there should not be any change for

at least one year. The speculative price system should go.

Lastly, we should have a Statutory Standing Committee. I repeat my demand once again. We should have a Statutory Standing Committee instead of the present Consultative Committee for the Economic Ministries. You want to have a national consensus. We have to have a Statutory Standing Committee for Economic Ministries. Unless you have that, you have a mini-Parliament where we can discuss the matters—it is not open to the Press, we can discuss certain issues and we come to a common agreement as we do in the Public Accounts Committee—you cannot solve this problem easily. So, there should be a Statutory Standing Committee for Economic Affairs.

Then the Government should leave the attitude of vengeance or vendetta against officers who are not prone to their ideology or thought. You should have capable Ministers and utilise their services. You are not utilising the services of capable and talented persons in your party. I know the Finance Minister will agree and this House knows that there was a high level Revenue Committee. What were the decisions taken in that Committee? The Press report appeared on 2nd September. I would like to know what were the major decisions of that highest Revenue Committee of Economic Affairs, of which you were the Chairman.

Lastly, please utilise the talented persons of your party. The Congress-I has got talented Members whose services you are utilising for defence. You have persons like Vasant Dada Patil, Shri R. L. Phatia, Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia and young talented persons like Chintamani Panigrahi. You are utilising their services only for defence. You have to utilise these talented people who have political and economic foresight. Unless you do that,

you will not be able to achieve anything with the zero talented Government at the moment. Please do that.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Sir, on a point of order. The hon. Member has referred to some names in the Congress-I and spoke of their talented abilities for inclusion in the Cabinet. Shrimati Indira Gandhi may not select them because their cases have been pleaded for by an hon. Member from the Opposition bench. So, these words of the Opposition Member should be expunged!

श्री हरीश चंद्र सिंह रावत (भल्मोड़ा) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी इस सम्मानित सदन के सामने प्रतिपक्ष के कई विद्वान मित्रों ने अपनी भावनाओं को रखा है। हमारे कई लायक दोस्तों और सम्मानित नेताओं ने उन अपरिहार्य कारणों पर अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं, जिन्हें वे मूल्य-वृद्धि के लिए जिम्मेदार समझते हैं।

18.00 hrs.

जिस तरीके से हमारे प्रतिपक्ष के साथियों ने अपने विचारों को प्रकट किया—केवल प्रो० दण्डवते को छोड़कर—अधिकांश ने राजनीतिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में आम आदमी के जीवन के सवाल को जोड़ने की कोशिश की। मैं समझता था कि इस सदन के सामने बहुत सारी राजनीतिक बहसें हमने की हैं, हमने अपने दलगत विचारों को यहां पर व्यक्त किया है लेकिन आज मुझे आशा थी कि प्रतिपक्ष के हमारे दोस्त कुछ ऐसे ठोस सुझावों को इस सदन के समक्ष पेश करेंगे जिन पर हमारा वित्त मंत्रालय कुछ अमल कर सकेगा।

आज जिस स्थिति से हमारे प्रतिपक्षके मित्रों को इतना क्रोध है, इतना रोष है मैं समझता हूं उन को अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर विचार करना चाहिए कि इस स्थिति को पैदा करने के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है। यह जो मूल्य वृद्धि, आर्थिक भ्रष्टाचार और कुशासन का नाजायज बच्चा है वह किसकी सन्तान है? आज हमें उन की अवैध सन्तान को नियंत्रण

में लाना पड़ रहा है। उस को हम एकदम समाप्त भी नहीं कर सकते हैं, उस को हमें पालना भी पड़ रहा है। मैं उस समय की बात नहीं कहता इस सदन के सामने अभी इस मूल्य वृद्धि के संबंध में प्रतिपक्ष अपना दोमुहां स्वरूप प्रकट कर रहा है। एक तरफ आम आदमी का जीवन दिन प्रतिदिन दूभर होता जा रहा है, आवश्यक चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हमारे प्रतिपक्ष के मित्र जगह जगह आन्दोलन खड़े कर रहे हैं। आप फैक्टरीज को ही लीजिए। जब हमारे मित्र शासन से हटे तब कई फैक्टरीज बन्द थी लेकिन हमने उनको खोलने की कोशिश की परन्तु आज वहां मजदूरों को भड़काया जा रहा है, केवल देश के उन भागों में ही नहीं जहां पर कि कांग्रेस का शासन है बल्कि जहां पर कांग्रेस की सरकारें नहीं है जैसे कि पश्चिम बंगाल है। एक तरफ सारा बंगाल अंधकार में डूबा हुआ है और दूसरी तरफ वहां के कल-कारखाने, जोकि आवश्यक वस्तुएं उत्पादित करके जनता को देते थे, वह बन्द पड़े हैं। दामोदर वैली प्रोजेक्ट की यूनियन, जिस पर मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का कब्जा है, वहां वहां पर विद्युत पैदा करने में अड़गेंबाजी लगा रही है। अपने ही लोगों के साथ मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सरकार क्या कर रही है, इसको समझने की आवश्यकता है। शहरों में प्रतिपक्ष के नेता बड़ी बड़ी मीटिंग्ज को एड्रेस करते हैं तो हमारे ऊपर दोष देते हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों को आन्दोलन के लिए भड़का रहे हैं, वे किसानों से कह रहे हैं कि आन्दोलन करो, अधिक मूल्य मांगो लेकिन वे यह नहीं शोध रहे हैं की यदि उनकी चीजों का अधिक मूल्य दिया जायेगा तो उससे संबंधित जो और दूसरी चीजे हैं उनकी कीमतें भी बढ़ेंगी। आज जिन चीजों की कीमतें आसमान पर है उनको आसमान पर

[श्री हरीश चन्द्र रावत]

पहुँचाने की जिम्मेदारी लेने से वे इंकार नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं पहले समझता था कि कुलक्स के नेता केवल चौधरी चरण सिंह ही हैं लेकिन आज मैं श्री चव्हाण और प्रो० दण्डवते को भी उनमें शामिल देखता हूँ तो मुझे आश्चर्य और दुःख होता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि प्रतिपक्ष को अपनी इस दोमुही नीति को त्यागना चाहिए। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि प्रतिपक्ष को सरकार की आलोचना करने का अधिकार नहीं है उसे सरकार की आलोचना करनी चाहिए लेकिन वह आलोचना स्वस्थ होनी चाहिए, रचनात्मक होनी चाहिए, वह आलोचना विध्वंसत्मक नहीं होनी चाहिए।

जनता पार्टी के लोगों को आज यह स्वीकार करना होगा कि वे कुछ बुराइयाँ देकर गए हैं जिनके दूर करने में बड़ा टाइम लगेगा। आप 1974 की रेल हड़ताल को हो ले लीजिए। उसमें अनुशासनहीनता के लिए जिनको निकाला गया था उनको जनता पार्टी ने पुनः नौकरी दे दी। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि जो लोग अनुशासनहीन, गलत और भ्रष्ट थे वे सोचने लग गए कि यदि आज सरकार निकालेगी तो आने वाले समय में फिर नौकरी मिल जायेगी।

इन सब चीजों को, इन सारे इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को जिस तरह से उन्होंने बिगाड़ने की कोशिश की है, जो कि हमारे आर्थिक मंत्रालयों से संबंधित थे, उसी सब का परिणाम आज हमें भुगतान पड़ रहा है।

आज मैं एक बात माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से जरूर कहूँगा कि हम आज केवल अपने प्रतिपक्ष पर उन की गलतियों को थोप कर बच नहीं सकते हैं। हम ने अपने चुनाव में जनता से वायदा किया है कि हम उन की गलतियों को दुरुस्त करेंगे, हमें इस संबंध में कुछ ठोस कार्य-

वाही करनी पड़ेगी। हम को आज इस बात पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा कि जो हमारे उत्पादन साधन हैं उन को जिस तरह से आज हमारे प्रतिपक्ष के लोग गड़बड़ाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, जिस तरह से बाधा पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, इस संबंध में हमें कुछ ठोस कदम उठाने चाहिए, ताकि हमारे उत्पादन में किसी प्रकार की बाधा पैदा न हो सके। यदि जरूरत पड़े तो हमें जनता ने जो मेन्डेट दिया है उस को दृष्टि में रखते हुए आर्थिक अनुशासन कायम करने के लिए यदि आर्थिक एमर्जेन्सी भी लागू करनी पड़े तो उसे भी लागू करना चाहिये। हमारी जिम्मेदारी प्रतिपक्ष के प्रति नहीं है, हमारी जिम्मेदारी उन मूल्यों के प्रति नहीं है जो देश में किठनाइयाँ पैदा करे बल्कि हमारी जिम्मेदारी उन मूल्यों के प्रति है जो हिन्दुस्तान की जनता का कल्याण कर सकती है, जिन मूल्यों के लिये हम ने जनता से वोट मांगा है और जिस के लिये उन्होंने हमें अपना वोट देकर यहां भेजा है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कृषि फ्रंट पर जहां हम लोग प्रतिपक्ष द्वारा किसानों को भड़काने के लिये उन की आलोचना करते हैं, वहां इस पर भी विचार करना चाहिए कि जहां पर हम मिलों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों को और दूसरे लोगों को उत्पादकता के लिये बोनस देने जा रहे हैं, वहां हम किसानों को क्या दे रहे हैं? किसान और उस का परिवार सुबह से लेकर रात के 12 बजे तक काम करता है, उस व्यक्ति को क्या मिलता है और आज उस की क्या हालत है--क्या हम ने कभी इस पर ध्यान दिया है? आज भी हम उस को इग्नोर करते रहे, तो किसान भी एक दिन संगठित हो कर यदि हड़ताल कर देगा, तो सारा हिन्दुस्तान भूखा मर जायेगा। इसलिये दोनों

के बीच में सन्तुलन करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। जहाँ मिलों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों के बोनस बढ़ाने चाहिये, उनकी सुविधायें बढ़ानी चाहियें, वहाँ हमें किसानों को भी सुविधायें बढ़ानी चाहियें, उन को प्रलोभन देना चाहिये, ताकि वे अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन कर सकें और इस तरह से जब चीजें अधिक उत्पादित होगी तो मूल्य अपने आप गिरेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने प्रतिपक्ष के आरोप और प्रत्यारोपों के बावजूद भी कल जो चुनाव के परिणाम निकले हैं, उस में हम को पूरा समर्थन दिया है। जिन्होंने महाराष्ट्र में किसान आन्दोलन की शुरुआत की, उन सब विपक्षी दलों के प्रत्याशी को केवल 8 हजार वोट मिले और हमारे मुख्य मंत्री जी को 64 हजार वोट मिले। यह इस बात का प्रतीक है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता आप पर कितना विश्वास रखती है।

अन्त में मैं एक उर्दू की कम्प्लेट आप के सामने रख कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ:—

हम ने माना कि तगाफुल न करोगे, लेकिन, हम तो मर जायेंगे, तुम्हारा पैगाम आने तक।

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think I am speaking practically at the far end of the debate and I will not take much of your time. I will briefly mention some of the points that I have in my mind. I do not consider this discussion on the prices as a technical discussion on the prices in isolation. It is, as a matter of fact, a discussion on the functioning of the economy as a whole. The price rise or the price fall is an index of the functioning of economy as a whole. So, when we are discussing price rise, we are discussing the economy as a whole and what is the health of the economy? Normally, we hear about the health of the economy when the economic survey is submitted at the time of the Budget debate or Budget discussion. I think

this is the time when—I can say from my own experience—the economic adviser or economic specialist in the Ministry of Finance is about to start writing his review. I, really speaking, take pity on that man. What can he write on the paper about it except to say that there was good monsoon and nothing more? Possibly he will have to stop there!

I am reminded of a very fine and the wittiest congress leader, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah. More than three decades ago, we were in our district. He came on a tour. Naturally, at that time, we were not in a position to provide a posh car to him. We got only a secondhand car and provided that car to him. He toured the district. When he came back, we asked him, "Were you comfortable?" He said, "Yes, yes, we were comfortable except the horn, we heard every other part of the car was making a noise." If we look at our economy and if I have to speak about our economy, I can say on the same line that except prices, everything else is failing. This is the position. I hope the Finance Minister would not take it like that, because he is trying to do his best of the difficult situation. We know about it. This is not a personal criticism. This is the situation in which we have driven ourselves, whether it is due to this government or another government. But, what is the present situation that we must present here? We demanded a discussion on this because we wanted to reflect the feelings of the people of India today by saying that they are suffering under the pressure of prices. That is why we wanted to censure the government. You did not allow us to do that. Now, we are discussing price situation. But even discussion can censure the government, as a matter of fact; and that is what is being done. What is the situation of the economy? What are we going to do about the present situation? I do not want to go into details and give statistics which everybody has practically provided here. There is no doubt that there is a price rise; whether it was started in 1977 or 1978. I can say

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

about it from my own experience because I happened to be the Finance Minister during those horrible periods of price rise of 1972—74. If you take the international forces and the famine than 7-8 States combined together you than 7-8 States combined together you will explain the causes of inflation.

I can tell Prof. Madhu Dandavate for his information that the price rise started falling some time in October 1974, after that period, the process of falling prices continued further and the proof of it can be found in the Finance Minister's Budget speech of Mr. Subramaniam in 1975. Some people try to take credit of it for the emergency. I would like to tell them that the emergency may have its advantages and disadvantages in other way. I may like it or may not like it; I may have other criticism to offer, but the price fall has nothing to do with the emergency. It started with a package of a very difficult, very unpopular decisions in September 1974. Those decisions we took and as a matter of fact, then the fall started; it continued in 1975; it also continued in 1976; it also continued in 1977. Then you inherited in the Janata Party that fall and you maintained it for some time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We did not spoil it.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: At least you did not. If you want credit for that, I have no objection. But I would like to say that 'certainly by taking certain measures unpopular, if necessary, but economic decisions...'. Somebody has made an observation about the economic situation. I agree with it that the economic situation cannot be solved by political manoeuvres. The economic solution can be found out for solving the economic situation and, therefore, it is necessary to go to the heart of the problem.

If you do not mind, if you want criticism of a friend, what I say is that I see a sort of a sense of complacency, a sort of lack of direction, as far as

the economic matters are concerned. There is a refusal to use the talent in their own party. We do not offer it from our side. I do not want to mention names. There is unnecessary concentration of power somewhere; there is unwillingness to take decisions. There is unwillingness to delegate powers. There is unwillingness to act independently and there is unwillingness to differ where to differ is very essential. That makes the working of the government and the working of the economy very difficult. What I do not like is the lack of direction, the sense of complacency that everything is all right. Of course I must admit that the Prime Minister in her interview had agreed that prices had risen. She has very wisely not promised a price fall; she very carefully said: we will try to make an effort and see how we can go about it. That is all right. But it is not enough. You will have to go forward and do something concrete. The basic area is the public sector functioning. How do you improve the working of the public sector?

The hon. Finance Minister while presenting his budget made a statement on tackling the question of inflation. There are two ways. He said then that either you expand the supply or control the demand. He has taken to expanding the supply; that is what I understood him; if I am wrong, he can correct me. At the present moment I have found that neither the supply has expanded nor is the demand controlled. What Mr. Kamal Nath was saying was right; I agree with him. In a developing country one cannot say that the country can go without any inflation at all. But how much? Even developed countries cannot bear an inflation rate of more than 4 per cent. The utmost that a developing country can have is about 4 to 5 per cent; that is one per cent more. One can understand it. How much deficit financing you could have? Mr. Dandavate made a prophecy that the Finance Minister will come up with a deficit financing of Rs. 3,000 crores; I saw the Finance Minister moving his head horizontally and saying 'no'.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He meant to say it was more than that.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I do not know who is right. I hope the Finance Minister is right; and wish that he is not going to that length. Under the present pressure of inflation you will have only two alternatives: you increase the deficit financing or you deprive your priority sectors from further investment. In a developing country deficit financing had to be taken recourse to. But how much one could take recourse to that? If you go in for thousands you will ruin the country. What Charan Singh did and what you did this year has brought us to this position. The maximum deficit financing that a country like India can bear, according to my opinion, is Rs. 500 crores; that is the maximum, not more.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur): You are late in that discovery.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Better late than never. I must say that is my view. You can certainly get up and say what is your view. This is the position today. Agriculture, for example, it is the most important area of production. Nearly 70 per cent people of our country are engaged in agriculture. And only in that sector there is complete lack of incentive for production. What help India got in the last decade and a half is from the agricultural sector. As Indiraji in one of her interviews said that there were miracles to save India, I would say agriculture is one of the miracles. In the last decade and a half, Punjab, Andhra, Haryana and other areas have come to the help of India and they have produced more wheat, more rice, Maharashtra produced more sugar and some other areas produced something more. What are we doing for the agricultural sector today? You are doing something here and there. You are doing something for irrigation I know. But the agriculturists as an individual, has to consider his economy. Does it profit him to continue to do production in the farming. Does it really speaking help him to continue farming? It is the question that any

Government must ask itself. Unfortunately, the answer is 'NO'. Whatever area you take, whether in agriculture—I do not know his name, one hon. Member said, we are Kulaks because we are supporting farmers. If supporting farmers is being Kulaks, we don't mind being Kulaks. We must support farmers. Farmers are the main supporters of India's economy. If the farmers had not done what they had done in the last decade and a half, we would have been nowhere. The movement that has started is really a stupendous movement. Take a warning from it. They wanted more price for sugarcane, in fact, all sorts of farm productions, onions, sugarcane, rice; wheat, and whatever other production the farmers undertakes. Now, he has to use other inputs, industrial inputs for the production with a view to increase the farm production. There, you must go to his help and see that either you reduce the price of the inputs or give them more prices, if necessary; you can increase the prices for the producers and increase the prices for the consumers also possibly. You will have to think of some idea of subsidy, and give subsidy to the producers and also give subsidy to the consumer; that does not matter. (*Interruptions*). Anyway, you are having deficit financing. At least by doing some justice to some people, you have deficit financing. This is all I can say. It is a very difficult problem; I know it is a very difficult problem. We are facing many contradictions in our socio-economic conditions. What is our basic purpose today? What is our basic direction? When I say direction, I mean our priorities. Our direction must be the transformation of the socio-economic conditions in our country. Whatever you do ultimately you will have to see whether you are doing it rightly or wrongly. The major areas of production are fertiliser, power generation, railways, coal, agriculture etc. These are some of the major areas of production. I know you have appointed a sub-committee. That is all right. But we do not know what the sub-committee is doing. What we want is not committees and sub-committees. What we want, and what the

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

nation wants, is results. We do not see the results. We want to know whether there are results; you had said or you had promised the country that by expanding supplies you would control the inflation. You could have certainly done that. But there is no increase in the supplies. This is the tragedy of this country, and I would like to request, because our criticism should be taken in a constructive spirit. We do not want to criticise you for criticising sake. Mr. Sukhadia said that the Opposition wants chaos. I can assure him,—we are old friends—we don't think in terms of chaos. We don't want chaos. We are not organising chaos. What we want is orderly progress of this country. What we want is consolidation and unity of this country. For that matter we have always offered our co-operation and we are always willing to offer our co-operation for that. But you have got your own fads and attitudes about the country and you say that the Opposition is not co-operating. Unfortunately you are not co-operating with yourself. What can we do about it? That is the basic difficulty. Therefore, I would suggest, locate the basic and priority areas of production. Please find out more important sections of society which are necessary for production and what incentive you want to give to them. If necessary, think about a subsidy. Ultimately you have to find out the prices of the essential items, particularly for the poor man who is below the poverty line, what he needs, at least identify 10—12 items for them. Don't tell them excuses about cost of production and, therefore, you will have to pay more. Think about some sort of political remedy for it. Think of some subsidy for it. At least to the people below the poverty line, you supply 10, 12 or 15 essential items. You have got the machinery for distribution. For more than two decades, we have got a distribution system. Improve upon it. Increase it. Make it effective and try to ease the burden on the shoulders of the poor people. This is the plea I want to make.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. M. C. Daga. His speech will be very short and at the same time sweet!

श्री मूल चन्द्र डागा (पाली) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में बैठने वाला कोई भी व्यक्ति या माननीय सदस्य साहस के साथ नहीं कह सकता कि मूल्यों में वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। मूल्यों में वृद्धि हुई है, इस बात को मानना पड़ेगा। इसके कारण आम जनता में आक्रोश और असन्तोष है, यह भी मानना पड़ेगा। अब असन्तोष को उग्र रूप कौन देता है, इसके लिए मैं नहीं कहना चाहता, लेकिन जिस रूप में आप उन को उकसाते हैं, क्या उस से हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ने वाला है ?

एक बात जरूर हो गई है कि आज की राजनीति कुर्सी के पीछे घूम रही है। यह कुर्सी की राजनीति इतना दुःख दे रही है कि आज मजदूर नेता कहते हैं कि हमें रेलवे को बोनस देना है, एक कहता है कि हमें पी. एण्ड टी. डिपार्टमेंट को बोनस देना है, चाहे मुद्रा स्थिति कितनी ही हो जाए, चाहे वे काम न करते हों, लेकिन उन को बोनस देना चाहिए, पब्लिक सेक्टर में भी बोनस देना है, क्योंकि वे मजदूरों के नेता हैं। एक तरफ किसानों को चाहने वाले आवाज लगाएंगे कि इन के भाव बढ़ाइये और यहां आकर कहेंगे कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाहें बढ़ाइए, हम अभी तक समझ नहीं पाए। तो आज की राजनीति कुर्सी की राजनीति बन गई है। चाहे उधर बैठने वाले हों, चाहे इधर के बैठने वाले हों, चाहे तीन हजार करोड़ रुपए का घाटा रखा हो, चाहे 1400 रुपये रक्खा हो।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हम ने अभी तक हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर अपनी नेशनल वेज पालिसी बना ली है। इस 32-33 साल के समय में क्या यह निर्णय कर लिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ लोगों के पास पूंजी इतनी नहीं रहेगी ? क्या जनसंघ ने यह निर्णय कर लिया है कि हम मुनाफाखोरी और जमाखोरी को

रोकेंगे ? आप बतलाइए कि विरोधी दल में बैठने वाले किसी सज्जन ने उस मुनाफा-खोर, जमाखोर के खिलाफ कभी शिकायत की और कांग्रेस सरकार को बतलाया कि वह आदमी भ्रष्टाचार कर रहा है। नहीं, उन के सामने यह बात नहीं कही अगर यह बात आपने कही होती और भण्डाफोड़ किया होता तो आज यह स्थिति न होती।

एक बात जरूर है कि आज की नौकर-शाही पर हमारी सरकार का मजबूती से कब्जा नहीं है और यह मानना होगा कि हमारी वितरण प्रणाली दोषपूर्ण है। हमारी वितरण प्रणाली में सुदृढ़ता नहीं आई, मजबूती नहीं आई, गांव-गांव में लोगों तक राशन नहीं पहुंचा, इसके लिए हम मालूम करें कि क्या हमारे आफिसर्स, हमारे इन्स्पेक्टरों ईमानदार हैं ?

आपने प्रिवेण्टिव डिटेन्शन एक्ट बना दिया, असेंशियल कमोडिटी एक्ट बना दिया। एक बात मिनिस्टर लोग बड़ी अच्छी कहते हैं कि हम जमाखोरों के खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही करेंगे, तब मुनाफाखोर सोचता है कि यह मजाक अच्छा है। जब यह चेतावनी देते हैं तो मखौल समझते हैं, वे सोचते हैं कि आज मखौल की बात हुई है। क्या किसी को मालूम नहीं है कि ब्लैक-मनी चल रही है। क्या हम में हिम्मत है कि हम ब्लैक मनी को निकाल सकें ? क्या यहां पर बैठने वाले सदस्य अपनी पूंजी की घोषणा करेंगे ? आपको उसकी जांच करानी चाहिए। हम सब यहां जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं। हम को यह पता लगाना चाहिए कि उनके पास कितनी पूंजी है। उसकी जांच होनी चाहिए।

हम कल्याणकारी राज्य की बात करते हैं लेकिन साथ साथ अपनी कुर्सी की बात करते हैं। ये दोनों बातें साथ साथ नहीं चल सकती हैं। जीवन बीमा निगम वालों की अगर हड़ताल होती है तो यहां

पर कालिंग अटेंशन आ जाता है। रेलों में होती है तो ऐसा ही होता है। अब तो 27 नवम्बर को बंगाल बन्द होगा। उस में सरकार मदद कर रही है। क्या यह बहुत अच्छा काम वहां की सरकार कर रही है ? क्या यह तारीफ का काम है ? हम सब को यह देखना चाहिए कि जो राष्ट्रीय सवाल हैं वे पार्टी से ऊपर उठ कर हल किए जाएं।

आंकड़े में देना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं महाजन का लड़का हूं। मैं जानता हूं कि पचास रुपया क्विंटल चीनी के दाम कम हो गए हैं। यह एक वीक में हुए हैं। लेकिन मैं नहीं मानता कि यह कोई परमानेंट चीज है। रिजर्व बैंक ने ग्यारह सौ करोड़ की पूंजी कम दे दी। इसको भी मैं मानता हूं। लेकिन असली बात तो यह है कि हमारी जो नौकरशाही है, हमारे जो सरकारी अधिकारी हैं वे पूंजीवादी और तानाशाही प्रवृत्तियों से जकड़े हुए हैं। उनके खिलाफ हम कुछ करते नहीं हैं। यहां पर अगर सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों का सवाल आता है और वकील लोग बोलते हैं तो कहते हैं कि जजों की तनख्वाहें बढ़नी चाहियें। आम आदमी का बैनिफिट किस में है इसको कोई सोचता ही नहीं है। पार्टी हित को हम पहले लेते हैं। रोज जीरो आघर में आप देखते ही हैं कि कितना हल्ला होता है और कितना समय उस में नष्ट हो जाता है। साढ़े छः सौ रुपये या भगवान जाने कितना रुपया एक मिनट का यहां खर्च होता है। लेकिन उसकी परवाह न करते हुए बराबर हम यहां हल्ला करते रहते हैं और यह जानते हुए इन सवालों को उठाते हैं कि नियम इनकी इजाजत नहीं देते हैं। उत्पादन पर हम को जोर देना होगा, उत्पादन हम को बढ़ाना होगा। आपको सख्ती से काम लेना होगा। वितरण प्रणाली को आपको सुदृढ़ करना होगा। गांवों में नौकरशाही के बल पर आप चाहें कि कुछ सार्वजनिक हित के काम हों तो

[श्री मूल चन्द डागा]

यह मुम्किन नहीं है, आपको उन कामों में पब्लिक के आदमियों को इनवाल्व करना होगा। काले धन को निकालना होगा। काले धन को निकालने के लिए आपको हिम्मत से काम लेना होगा। फौलादी संकल्प लेना होगा और साहसिक कदम उठाने होंगे। इंसान जो चाहता है कर गुजरता है अगर वह हिम्मत से काम ले। वक्त किसी का इन्तजार नहीं करता है। आप ये सब कदम उठाएं। नोटों का आप डीमोनेटाइजेशन कर दें। कुछ तो आप करें ताकि मालूम तो हो कि आप कुछ करेंगे। इनकम टैक्स आफिसर्स को, कस्टम आफिसर्स को आप कसिए। सरकारी आदमी जो भ्रष्टाचार करते हैं उनको आप इससे विरत कीजिए। आप उपाय करें ताकि वे पूंजीपति लोगों से मिले ब रहें। आप यहां मुझ पर और मैं आप पर लांछन लगाते हैं। यह ठीक नहीं है। जो गरीब आदमी गांव का है, उसको क्या मैं जा कर इकोनोमी के स्टेटिस्टिक्स बताऊंगा, आंकड़े बताऊंगा? गांव में रहने वाले लोगों की जो मिट्टी के तेल की जरूरत है उसको आंकड़े बता कर पूरा नहीं किया जा सकता है। उसको आंकड़े नहीं चाहियें। ये जो राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न हैं, आम जनता से सम्बन्धित प्रश्न हैं इन को हल करने में मेहरबानी करके आप सरकार से सहयोग करें। आप बड़ी बड़ी मीटिंगें करते हैं, जनता पार्टी की होती हैं, कांग्रेस यू की होती हैं और वहां बहुत प्रस्ताव भी पास किए जाते हैं जो हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स और टाइम्स आफ इंडिया वगैरह में छप जाते हैं लेकिन कभी कोई कंस्ट्रक्टिव सजेशन उन में दी गई हों, ऐसा मैंने नहीं देखा है। सभी संस्थाओं का यह हाल है। बहुत विरोध सरकार का वे करती हैं। लेकिन सुझाव कोई नहीं दिए जाते हैं।

असम के सवाल को आप लें। असम में तीन करोड़ या चार करोड़ रोज का नुकसान हो रहा है। भारतीय जनता

पार्टी कहती है कि बहुत अच्छा हो रहा है। क्या अच्छा हो रहा है —

प्रो० मधु बंडवले : ट्राइपार्टीट कान्फ्रेंस करने का डिसाइड तो किया है।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : वह अभी हुआ है।

प्राइसिस पर कंट्रोल तो होना ही चाहिये, उनको नीचे तो लाया ही जाना चाहिये लेकिन साथ-साथ नैशनल वेज पालिसी भी बननी चाहिये। आपको यह कहता हूँ कि जो डिस्पैरिटी है, उसको आपको कम करना होगा, खर्च पर बन्धन लगाना होगा। आज शादियों में जीमनवार हो रही है, इधर लोगों को शक्कर नहीं मिल रही है। इधर बड़े-बड़े भोज हो रहे हैं तो यह कैसे हो रहे हैं? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे पास एसेन्शियल क्मोडिटीज ऐक्ट है, प्रिवेटिव डिटेंशन ऐक्ट है, हम ब्लैकमनी को निकाल सकते हैं, निकालना होगा और जो पैरेलल इकनामी चल रही है, उसको भी हटाना होगा। अगर ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो दीवारों पर हम लोगों का नाम भी होगा कि लोक-सभा के सदस्यों ने, हिन्दुस्तान के नुमाइन्दों ने यह सबसे बड़ी जो सर्वोच्च सदन है, सर्वोच्च सत्ता है, इसमें बहस की थी, लेकिन प्राइस राइज कम नहीं हो रहा है। अगर प्राइस राइज और बढ़ जायेगा तो लोग हमको दोषी ठहरायेंगे, इसलिये ऐसा कदम उठाइए जिससे प्राइस राइज कम हो सके।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Bhogendra Jha. He should conclude in five minutes.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Sir, if you ask me to sit down now, I will sit down.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The time is allotted according to the party.

SHRI RAMAVTAR SHASTRI: He should get his full time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Your party has been allotted five minutes.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: Some members on the other side have taken more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER. The opposition has taken double the time, or your information. The ruling party has not taken that much time.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: Originally, the time allotted for the discussion was four hours. Now you have extended the time.

SHRI BHOGEN德拉 JHA: Sir, I will try not to take more time. I will try to keep within the limit; but I will only try. You should also try to maintain uniformity.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There should not be any repetition. Most of the points have already been raised. You should raise new points.

SHRI BHOGEN德拉 JHA: Firstly, I would like to say that the motion moved by my friend, Prof. Dandavate, is very harmless, non-political, not on party lines. According to me, it falls far short of the situation. Anyway, whatever it is, all the Members agree that prices have risen, and that is a matter of concern. So, let this House adopt this motion unanimously. Let the support come from the side of the ruling party to show that they are at least concerned with this issue. In the motion on cause is enumerated, no remedy is suggested, only concern is expressed. If you are concerned, let this motion be adopted unanimously. This is my first submission.

Secondly, I would like to say that the Prime Minister—because, she was the main vote-catcher for the ruling party during the election campaign—and, later on, the Finance Minister, during the budget said that they are going to stabilise and bring down the prices. I am not going into the causes but they have been totally belied and so they have to learn lessons from the mistakes they have committed.

On the day of the budget, I hope you remember, when I expressed some misgivings on the effect of the budget, several Members on that side said that I would be proved wrong. Then many of the opposition members also supported the budget. I wish I were proved wrong. But you

see what has happened. We have our political and ideological differences with some of the opposition parties, but we agree with them in censuring this Government's economic policy which the Finance Minister is pursuing, which this Government is pursuing, is against the nation, against the people, in favour of the richer sections of the society, the monopolists, hoarders and black-marketeters, and that is the tragedy of the situation. The prices are rising. And thereby all the wage earners of the country, all the toilers of the country and the salaried people of the country are being looted and the money is going somewhere. It is the money which is going to the place where the non-toiling people, the parasites, are sitting, and they are managing everything from behind the scene. They think that our economy is standing on their heads. That is the tragic situation. Our Finance Minister is giving the arguments of demand and supply. I think he is repeating the outdated Marshallian arguments. That is the tragic situation. The Congress Party says it was all done by the Janata Party Government and the Janata Party says it was done by the Congress Government. People say that both are the handmaid of the capitalist class of the country. Only the party label changes, but the policy remains the same.

Mr. Agarwal gave some arguments that during the Janata rule prices did not rise much. How? Because the cane price was reduced by the Janata Party Government by Rs. 2.50 per quintal as the sugar was surplus. Sugar was surplus and so the cane price was reduced. But sugar price was raised by Rs. 15/- per quintal and then by Rs. 30/- per quintal, and then the whole control was removed. Then the price rose up to Rs. 450/- per quintal and thus their average price got stabilised. That is their argument.

These are the statistics of the Reserve Bank. Let the producers suffer, let the capitalists prosper. And

[Shri Bhogendra Jha]

then you have the balancing of statistics. That is the crude joke of the statistics and that was the statistics of the capitalist Janata Government and that is the statistics of the capitalist Congress (I) Government and the Finance Minister quoted and produced these statistics in this House. But people have been looted in either case.

What Mr. Samar Mukherjee said is not a question of ideology only. Today you have given protection to the sugar mills by taking legal action against the khandsari and gur producers. That is the tragedy. You are telling the people through your actions whose government you are. You are the government of the billionaires, not of the cane producers, not of the peasants and workers of the country, nor of the ordinary consumers. In such a situation, when the prices of textile goods rise, cotton prices go down either absolutely or relatively. That is the contradictory situation of how the country's producers are being fleeced and non-producers are allowed to accumulate huge wealth at the other end and they are not investing this in production. That is not good for the country. Whatever concessions have been given to them, that is not reflected in the production investment of the country because this unproductive capital is in the hands of smugglers, hoarders and usurpers. They are not yoking the money for production. So when we raise the demand to nationalise the sugar industry, it is not from the ideological angle. Whatever sector it is, whether it is public sector or private sector let them produce the maximum. But when they are going against the country today, Adam Smith's economics is not working. The economy is in the condition of relative stagnation. In today's conditions capitalist monopolies of the world are not entirely dependent upon the economic theories of Adam Smith, Marshall or even Keynes. Their slogan today is stagflation, that is, reduce production,

increase profit by raising prices. This is both stagnation and inflation combined together. Here lies the crux of the problem. And the Prime Minister is misleading the country by saying that inflation is a global problem, knowing fully well that this inflation is non-existent in the socialist world. Whatever may be the concessions you give to the capitalist class, they are not yoking them entirely into production because more production may mean less profit in the conditions of a limited market because of the low purchasing capacity of the people. They want more profit by reducing production and raising prices. So, this class has become anti-social and anti-national. Here, there should not be a question of class interest only. Here national interests come in. That is why, for the sake of production, in the national and regional interests, you have to change your present pricing policy.

I will ask the Finance Minister to say whether a single wholesaler throughout India is resorting to stocking of essential commodities on the basis of his own money. To my knowledge, not a single wholesaler throughout India is resorting to stocking or hoarding with his own money. It is with the help of public money that hoarding is done, even the rent of the godown is given by the banks. So, the stocks go into the godowns, the consumers remain outside, then according to the capitalist economy, supply is less, demand is more, and prices go up. Bring out the goods from the godowns and give them to the country. With the help of our own public money, the country is being looted. If you want to follow the capitalist, exploiting ideology, let them do it with their own money, not with the help of public money. Withdraw the money today, prices will come down tomorrow. I categorically ask the Finance Minister to make this experiment. You announce in this House that you are going to withdraw the money from the wholesalers, and ask them to invest their own money. Let them bring out their

black money. Extend the public distribution system. We are saying that it is a national problem, but the problem is that the Government is sold to the capitalist class. It is their government. This is the reality, other things are jokes. I request you to compel the hon. Finance Minister to answer me either way.

My suggestion is that you must follow a compact package pricing policy. Many Memers have suggested that. A partial solution will not do. You have to give remunerative prices to the peasantry, not for the sake of the peasants only but to help agricultural production. That is a must. Secondly, the limit of gap between the primary producer's price and the consumer's price has to be fixed. The difference may be 15, 20 or 25 per cent, but fix a limit so that throughout the country and throughout the year this limit is not exceeded. Thirdly, take the wholesale trade into your own hands. If you want to have the private sector, let them run the wholesale trade with their own money, do not give public money to them. That is a crime. I am talking only about wholesalers in essential commodities, not producers and industrialists, because I know that in our country private industry is based on public money. If you withdraw it, they will collapse.

Finally, compel them to produce to the maximum extent, not that they reduce production, retrench workers, create scarcity and earn profits. If they do not produce, take over the industry or the enterprise. Take steps against smuggling and hoarding, so that black money is compelled to go into production. For that you will have to nationalise textile mills, sugar mills, jute mills and the drug industry. That is only in the national interest not because of any abstract political ideology.

Lastly, a compact pricing policy is necessary. We must try to evolve that in this House. Otherwise the

people will not be willing to tolerate. Today you are campaigning against the Bengal bandh, but there is going to be a Bihar bandh, not only of peasants, but of all classes. You will see what happens there. I think people have a right to protest peacefully and say that they are not going to tolerate the present situation. With this warning, I end.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Arif Mohammad Khan. You will get only five minutes.

(Interruptions) *

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Kanpur): But five minutes without interruption from Shri Shastri. I hope you will ensure that senior Member like him does not interrupt me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When junior Members speak, only juniors should interrupt. When senior Members speak then only seniors can interrupt. So, Shri Ramavatar Shastri cannot interrupt.

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खाँ : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सदन में प्रस्ताव है—मूल्य वृद्धि पर की चिन्ता और सरकार से यह आग्रह कि क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाकर इस मूल्य वृद्धि को रोकें। इसके विरोध का तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं है, विरोध वे करें जिनके कारण मूल्य वृद्धि हुई है। मैं इस बात से इतिफाक करता हूँ और यह भी मानता हूँ जैसा हमारे डागा साहब ने कहा कि मूल्य वृद्धि हुई है, इसमें कोई शुबहा नहीं है, लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ एक बात की संतुष्टि है कि हमारी सरकार श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में मूल्य वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए कटिबद्ध है और निश्चित ही उन नीतियों को कार्यान्वित किया जाएगा, जिससे इस मूल्य वृद्धि को सही तरीके से रोका जा सके।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मधु दंडवते जी और दूसरे अपने सीनीयर विपक्ष के साथियों

[श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां]

के भाषण सुनते वक्त मुझे गालिब का एक शेर याद आ गया ।

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: But with Translation.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I hope you will understand without translation.

ये मसाइले तसव्वुफ यह तेरा बयान गालिब ।
तुझे हम वली समझते जो न वादा ख्वार होता ॥

श्रीमन्, अगर यह तीन साल सत्ता के अन्दर न रहे होते, अगर इस देश की मूल्य वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए जिम्मेदारी इसके हाथ में न आई होती, अगर शासन इनके हाथ में न आया होता और उसके बाद यह आलोचना होती तो मैं मानता कि क्या क्रान्तिकारी विचार है, क्या सही समझ है और अगर एक बार इनके हाथ में शासन आ जाए तो यह मूल्य वृद्धि को रोक देंगे । श्रीमन्, इतनी अच्छी बातें कहीं, लेकिन असल बात यह है कि जब हम पीछे लौट कर देखते हैं, तो पता चलता है कि 300 रु० गन्ने की भाव की मांग करने वाले, उनके राज में ... (व्यवधान) ...

एक माननीय सदस्य : 300 रु० टन ।

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां : मैंने 300 रु० का भाव कहा है, यह पार्लियामेंट है, कुछ बातें यहां बगैर कहे ही समझी जाती हैं यह कोई पाठशाला नहीं है ।

श्रीमन्, उनके राज्य में कहीं और नहीं, बागपत और बड़ौत के किसान जब चौ० साहब के पास आए तो उन्होंने टोपी उतार कर कहा कि यहां पर गन्ना और बो देते । तुमने इतना गन्ना बो दिया है कि गन्ने का भाव नहीं मिल सकता है । जिन के राज्य में खेतों में खड़ा हुआ गन्ना जलाया गया, आज वह 300 रु० की बात कह रहे

हैं, मूल्य वृद्धि की बात कह रहे हैं । क्या वे इस भाव पर सस्ते दामों पर चीनी दिलवा देंगे ? मैं उन की नीयत पर शुक्हा नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन जो तरीका उन्होंने अपनाया है वह कीमतों को कम करने का नहीं है, वह किसानों को सही भाव दिलवाने का नहीं है । उन का एक ही मकसद है, ट्रेन को रोका जाय, ट्रकों को न चलने दिया जाय, किसान का माल मंडियों में न पहुँचे और अपनी जगह पर पड़ा-पड़ा सड़ जाय और किसान को उस सड़े हुए माल को बाध्य हो कर सस्ते दामों पर बेचना पड़े । पहले भी सरकार में रहते हुए इन की वही नीति थी और आज भी यही नीति है, ये किसानों का माल घरों में सड़ाना चाहते हैं । इन की कार्यवाहियों से इन के इरादे साफ हो जाते हैं

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर (गोरखपुर) ।
आप के बगल में दादा साहब पाटिल बैठे हुए हैं, जरा उन की राय मानिये ।

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां : मैं किसानों को सही मूल्य दिये जाने का विरोधी नहीं हूँ । दादा साहब भी सही कीमत दिलाना चाहते हैं और हमारी यह पूरी पार्टी किसानों को सही कीमत दिलाना चाहती है ।

श्री चित्त बसु (बारसाट) गोलियों से ।

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां : गोलियां तो आप चलवा रहे हैं ।

श्रीमन्, इतिहास इस बात का गवाह है— इस देश में एक ही वक्त में इतने छोटे कद के लोग एक साथ इतने बड़े पदों पर पहुँच गये थे जिसकी उन्होंने कभी कल्पना भी नहीं की थी । लेकिन बोये बीज बबूल के, आम कहां ते होय । आज उन बबूल के पेड़ों को काटने और उन की जगह पर

फलदार वृक्ष लगाने में थोड़ा समय तो लगता ही है । आप किसी बीमार को अस्पताल में ले जायें और डाक्टर से कहें कि उस को 24 घंटे में ठीक कर दीजिये , तो यह कैसे मुमकिन है । थोड़ा वक्त तो चाहिये ही, एन्टी-वायोटिक्स को अपना असर डालने के लिये थोड़ा वक्त चाहिये ।

अब आखिर में मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ । माननीय मधु दंडवते जी की नीयत पर मुझे कोई शुब्हा नहीं है मैं जानता हूँ वह ज्ञानी हैं, प्रोफेसर हैं, वे मूल्य वृद्धि के कारणों को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं , लेकिन दिक्कत यह है कि गुरु द्रोणाचार्य बहुत ज्ञानी थे, जानते बूझते हुए भी उन्होंने कौरवों की तरफ से लड़ाई लड़ी । इसलिए मैं इनकी नीयत पर शुब्हा नहीं करना चाहता । अन्त में एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ । मेरे मन में एक भावना है —यह सरकार चन्द निहित स्वार्थों का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले वर्गों की आलोचना के डर से कि यह सरकार तानाशाही रवैया अख्तियार करेगी, समस्याओं का समाधान करने के लिए कड़ा रवैया नहीं अपना रही है इसलिए मेरी सबसे पहली मांग यह है कि इस सरकार को केवल उनके स्वार्थों को नहीं देखना है जो अपने हितों को कहने में सक्षम हैं, समर्थ हैं, बल्कि उन वर्गों के स्वार्थों को भी देखना है जो अपने हितों के बारे में बात करने में सक्षम नहीं हैं । मैं आपके माध्यम से मांग करता हूँ कि इस सरकार को अब कड़ा रवैया अख्तियार करना चाहिए और आर्थिक अपराधियों के खिलाफ नेशनल सिक्योरिटी आर्डिनैस का खुल कर इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए ।

दूसरी बात,—इस कानून का इस्तेमाल केवल आर्थिक अपराधियों के विरुद्ध ही नहीं, बल्कि उन लोगों के खिलाफ

जो आर्थिक अपराधियों को शरण देने वाले हैं, आर्थिक अपराध कराने वाले हैं, उनके खिलाफ भी इसका इस्तेमाल होना चाहिए । इस माननीय सदन के वे सदस्य जो रेल की पटरियों पर बैठते हैं, रेलों को रूकवाते हैं, ट्रकों को रूकवाते हैं, किसानों को नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं, उन के खिलाफ भी कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए । क्या इस पार्लियामेंट के किसी माननीय सदस्य के खिलाफ कोई क्रिमिनल मुकदमा हो तो उस के खिलाफ कार्यवाही नहीं होगी ? मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी सदस्य, वह किसी भी राजनीतिक पार्टी से सम्बंध रखता हो, यदि वह देश की शासन व्यवस्था देश की शान्ति व्यवस्था, देश की सप्लाय के मामले में अडंगा लगाता है तो उस के खिलाफ भी कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए ।

19.00 hrs.

तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि मैं जोरदार मांग करता हूँ कि चाहे संविधान में परिवर्तन करना पड़े, लेकिन सरकार को वह सारी शक्तियां, जो शक्तियां जरूरी हैं, अपने हाथ में लेनी चाहिए, जिन से गिरे हुए पिछड़े हुए किसानों के हितों की रक्षा हो सके और निहित स्वार्थों से उनको बचाया जा सके । इस के लिए चाहे जो तरीके इस्तेमाल करने पड़ें, वे करने चाहिए ।

मुझे यह देख कर ताज्जुब होता है कि केरल में एक दूसरे को कत्ल करते हैं, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और जनसंघ वाले और यहां इस सदन में बैठ कर एक दूसरे के हितों की रक्षा करते हैं । जो बात एक कहता है , दूसरा भी वही बात कहता है । हमें इसमें कोई एतराज नहीं है । इस देश की जनता के सामने आप पूरी तरह से बेनकाब हो चुके हैं और आपके कहने से कोई फर्क पड़ने वाला नहीं है ।

ये मैंने अपने कुछ सुझाव दिए हैं और इनके साथ ही मैं अपनी बात खतम करता हूँ और आपने जो मुझे मौका दिया

[श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां]

उस के लिए आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर (गोरखपुर): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, श्री कमल नाथ ने अभी जिस प्रकार की बात कही, वह बात तो समझ में आती है लेकिन श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां, श्री हरीश चन्द्र सिंह रावत, श्री मूल चन्द डागा और श्री चिन्तामणी पाणीग्रही जैसे लोग भी आज की स्थिति की वकालत सरकार के पक्ष में कर रहे हैं, यह सुन कर मुझे शर्म आ रही थी और मुझे तकलीफ हो रही थी। स्थिति यह है कि जिन आदमियों को, जिन लोगों को इस देश की गरीब जनता के हकों की बात करनी चाहिए, जिन लोगों ने इस के पहले ऐसी मिशाल पेश की थी, आज उन को क्या हो गया है, आज उन की बुद्धि, उन के विवेक को क्या हो गया है, मेरे लिए यह आश्चर्य का विषय बना हुआ है। कीमतें तेजी से बढ़ती जा रही हैं, इस बात को सरकारी पक्ष के लोग और हम सब लोग मानते हैं और पूरा देश इस बात को अच्छी तरह से मानता है। यह बात पूरी तरह से स्पष्ट हो चुकी है, सिद्ध हो चुकी है कि सरकार पूर्णतया अकर्मण्य है, इस में इस स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए क्षमता नहीं है। इन्होंने चुनाव के वक्त वायदा किया था कि हम कीमतों को रोकेंगे। इन्होंने चुनाव में वायदा किया था कि हम कीमतों को बढ़ने नहीं देंगे और कानून व व्यवस्था को सुधारेंगे। इन दोनों को इन्होंने चौपट कर दिया है और देश को बरबाद कर दिया है। आज देश में जो अर्थव्यवस्था ये चला रहे हैं, इस अर्थव्यवस्था के रहते हुए, इस नीति के रहते हुए, जिस पर आप चल रहे हैं, इस से देश की गरीब जनता का भला नहीं हो सकता। इस से केवल लोगों का शोषण हो सकता है जैसा आज यह सरकार कर रही है।

मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि दाल और तिलहन की कीमतें अक्टूबर के तीसरे हफ्ते में काफी बढ़ी हैं। दाल की कीमत 15 रुपये से लेकर 55 रुपये प्रति क्वींटल के हिसाब से बढ़ी हैं, मूंगफली की कीमत 40 रुपये प्रति क्वींटल के हिसाब से बढ़ी है। कुछ आंकड़े श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव जी ने दिए हैं। म स्पष्ट रूप से उन में कुछ आंकड़े और जोड़ना चाहता हूँ। चीनी राशन की दुकान पर नवम्बर 1978 में जनता पार्टी के शासन में, जिस की बात ये लोग बार बार करते हैं, 2 रुपये 30 पैसे प्रति किलो बिकती थी। अब इन्होंने इस को बढ़ा कर 3 रुपये 50 पैसे कर दिया है यानी 52 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि की है। यह तो इन्होंने खुद वृद्धि की है और बाकी मार्किट में 12 रुपये से ले कर 25 रुपये प्रति किलो के हिसाब से इस देश में चीनी बिक रही है। इस बात को सब जानते हैं। गुड़ की स्थिति यह है कि सन् 1978 में जनता पार्टी के शासन में यह 1 रुपया 50 पैसे प्रति किलो मिलता था और आज 6 रुपये प्रति किलो बिक रहा है यानी 400 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। दाल अरहर 3 रुपये 50 पैसे प्रति किलो थी और इस समय 4 रुपये 75 पैसे बिक रही है यानी 35 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। आलू जैसी सब्जी जो 1 रुपये प्रति किलो नवम्बर 1978 में बिकती थी, इस समय 3 रुपये प्रति किलो बिक रहा है यानी 200 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। वनस्पती घी जो 9 रुपये प्रति किलो नवम्बर 1978 में बिक रहा था, अब 12 रुपये प्रति किलो बिक रहा है यानी 33 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। इस प्रकार जितनी भी चीजें हैं, सारी चीजों के दाम इनकी सरकार बनने के बाद बढ़े हैं। हम उम्मीद करते थे कि कोई विवेकवान व्यक्ति इस का समर्थन नहीं करेगा लेकिन आप बराबर इस का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। आप इसी

वायदे पर यहां आये थे ? आप में इतनी विवेकहीनता, विवेकशून्यता पैदा हो गई है। आप देश को बरबाद करना चाहते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ... मुद्रास्फीति की बात हुई है।

माननीय प्रो० दण्डवते जी ने कहा कि इनफ्लेशन बराबर हो रहा है। इस के लिए वर्तमान सरकार जिम्मेदार है। इस सरकार ने जो नीति अपनायी है उससे मुद्रास्फीति नहीं होगी तो और क्या होगा ? यह दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती जायेगी। आप देश में काले धन के बारे में कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। उसे बन्द नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप मनी का डिमानेटाइजेशन इसलिए नहीं करना चाहते हैं क्योंकि आपको पूंजी पतियों से पैसा मिलता है, आपने उनसे पैसा लिया है। इसीलिए आप उनके विरुद्ध काम नहीं करना चाहते हैं। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Keep something for the Zero Hour also.

श्री हरिकेस बहादुर : मान्यवर चोर बाजारियों की बात की जाती है। देश में प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेंशन एक्ट बना हुआ है। आपने आज तक कितने चोरबाजारी प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेंशन एक्ट में पकड़े हैं ? मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि सुलतानपुर में जो 90 हजार लीटर डीजल तेल पकड़ा गया था, उसके बारे में अब तक क्या कार्यवाही हुई ? आपने वह तेल भी छोड़ दिया, जिन लोगों को पकड़ा था, उन्हें भी छोड़ दिया। पकड़ने वाले अधिकारियों का वहां से आपने ट्रांसफर कर दिया। यह इसलिए किया क्योंकि उस कांड में कांग्रेस (ई) के विधायक सम्मिलित थे। पहले आप उनको नेशनल सिक्योरिटी आर्डिनंस में पकड़वाइये और बंद करवाइये।

मध्य प्रदेश में 32 करोड़ रुपये की दो ट्रेने चीनी गायब हुई। आज तक उसका

पता नहीं लगा। उच्चाधिकारी और कुछ राजनीतिक लोगों की मिलीभगत से यह सब हुआ। एक करोड़ रुपये की लेवी सुगर ब्लैक मार्किट में बेच दी गयी और एक मंत्री के सहयोग से बेच दी गयी। उ० प्र० के एक मंत्री का कहना है कि उ० प्र० में चीनी की काला बाजारी से उ० प्र० को प्रति माह एक करोड़ रुपये की हानि होती है। मद्रास बंदरगाह पर 50 हजार टन और विशाखापत्तनम पर 27 हजार टन चीनी सड़ रही है। जब चीनी की तस्करी की बात मंत्री जी से कही जाती है तो माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि उसकी उन्हें कोई जानकारी नहीं है। राज्य सरकारों से कहा जाता है कि चीनी की तस्करी यदि हो रही है तो उसे रोका जाये। यह सब अखबारों में रोज निकलता है। ये अखबार बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश से निकलते हैं। उसके बाद भी आपके वित्त मंत्रालय को इस बात की खबर नहीं होती कि इसकी चोर-बाजारी होती है।

आप जनता पार्टी के जमाने में चीनी की बहुत बात करते हैं। जनता पार्टी ने 20 लाख टन चीनी का स्टॉक आपके लिए छोड़ा था। उसके बाद 40 लाख टन चीनी गत वर्ष में पैदा हुई और दो लाख टन चीनी आपने इम्पोर्ट की। इस तरह से 62 लाख टन चीनी आपके पास है। एक साल में चीनी का कंजम्प्शन होता है 58 लाख टन का। आज भी चार लाख टन चीनी आपके पास होनी चाहिए। फिर ये चीनी के दाम इतने क्यों बढ़ रहे हैं ? ये इसलिए बढ़ रहे हैं क्योंकि आप अक्षम हैं, आप इसकी ठीक तरह से व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते हैं। आपकी विवरण व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है। यह जो सारी स्थिति है इसको ठीक करने की आपको कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

[श्री हरिकेश बहादुर]

सरकार किसानों का पूरी तरह से शोषण कर रही है। गोली और लाठी से आप उनकी आवाज को दबाना चाहते हैं। आपने डीजल फर्टीलाइजर की कीमत बढ़ा दी, इन्सैक्टिसाइड की कीमतें भी बढ़ा दी। किसान अपनी उपज का लाभकारी मूल्य, रेम्युनरेटिव मूल्य चाहते हैं जिसको आप देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को दस महीने के अन्दर ही इतने बड़े संकट में डाल दिया है जितना कि इससे पहले किसी भी सरकार ने इतने दिनों में नहीं डाला था। स्वयं कांग्रेस की सरकार ने भी पहले इतने दिनों में यह नहीं किया था। ऐसा लगता है कि पूंजीपतियों के साथ आपकी पूरी मिली-भगत है इसलिए आप लोग देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को बर्बाद कर रहे हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Banatwalla. You have only five minutes. We have got to conclude this debate and then the Minister has to reply.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Panani). Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when I rise to participate in this debate on inflationary pressures, I do not intend to trade charges with reference to the performance or non-performance of the present Government or the past Janata Government. The glaring fact is that both have disappointed the common man. The situation is that in the past twelve months alone the whole-sale price index has gone up by about 20 per cent. Here the government at times argues that the average rate of increase has declined during the present few weeks. I must first point out that there is a very convenient shifting of platitudes that the government uses. While presenting the budget the hon'ble Finance Minister spoke and promised of a plateau with respect to the prices. The plateau has gone

somewhere. Now he has begun to talk in terms of rises but lesser than in the previous comparable periods. He says that the monthly rate of increase in prices has declined and in October it was 0.6 per cent. That was the figure given in one of my questions here in the House. But this is a very cruel and heartless joke that is being played on the people. It should be realised that this increase is in addition to the exorbitant increase that was already there and, therefore, let such cruel and heartless jokes be not played upon our people. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the fact remains that the present inflationary trend hits where it hurts the most. That is the painful feature of the present inflationary trend that we have. If we take the price rise in essential commodities we find that the increase is greater in case of primary commodities and even when we take the group of the primary commodities we find that the increase is greater in the food articles over there. I have facts and figures here but because of your kind direction to be brief. I do not want to take the time of the House in presenting all these figures but then they have come on the Table of the House through various starred and unstarred questions that have been put.

Sir, there is the sugar muddle. We have this strange phenomenon of sugar at times reaching new heights ranging from Rs. 13 to Rs. 25 and then sometimes the lady vanishes.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You are talking about the sweet lady!

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Yes. We are told about the drought and the shortage and so on. But my humble submission is that as far as sugar is concerned there was no shortage whatsoever. The total availability of sugar during the year which ended in September, 1980 was 5.33 million tonnes and this net availability was higher than the one in 1977-78 or in any other previous year.

The trouble with the sugar industry is that there is too much of politics in sugar. There is that grand strategy of systematic generation of panic and then there is well laid out plan of sugar dis-appearing. And then the sugar producers and traders have made a neat packet, according to one estimate, of Rs. 150 crores in about 4 or 5 weeks and Rs. 500 crores according to another estimate. Now, take the question of levy sugar. Levy sugar is supposed to be 65 per cent of production. But, Sir, sometime back even the former Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, had admitted in this House that 30 to 35 per cent of levy sugar never reaches the consumers and goes back to the traders. This is a particular situation which must be taken care of.

Then I will just put the points that are remaining and I will conclude. If we are serious about the solution of the situation, we must take up the question of increase in the production, increase in savings, domestic savings, increase in domestic investments. But here the Government policy is that through higher bank rates, the investments are hit hard with the present result. We have also the question of capacity utilisation which should also be taken into account. From 1970 to 1978, the capacity utilisation was, on an average, 78 per cent in the case of big industries and in the case of other industries it is very low. These are the various factors that will have to be taken into consideration.

Then, whether it is the ruling party or the opposition, we must also consider an important thing when we talk about identifying the industries where production has to increase and in making a concerted effort for increasing production, we must all, irrespective of our party considerations, realise that during the past 3 years, every year more than 20 million mandays have been lost as a result of bad industrial relations. Here is a field where the ruling party, the opposition party and everybody

has to take up the challenge and meet the situation. Sir, the situation calls for determined measures to step up savings and to step up investments through proper initiatives, through avoidance of wasteful expenditure and so far as oil is concerned through economising in the consumption of oil. Thank you.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):
Sir, I am reminded of an old saying, that is, "when Rome was burning, Nero was fiddling". This is exactly the position now. Sir, I say this because the Government has taken a complacent view of the serious situation arising out of the price rise. Only on 2nd November, the hon. Finance Minister, in Calcutta, made a statement that inflation rate was only 1 per cent. On the 21st October, the Prime Minister said "I am told that the rate of inflation has slowed down". She made this statement. Anyway I would not like to give more quotations. But these very words reflect the attitude of the Government. The Finance Minister makes such a statement and the Prime Minister makes such a statement. Therefore, Sir, I was reminded of an old saying "when Home was burning, Nero was fiddling". What is more amusing is certain speeches made by Members of the ruling party. I do not have time to make out my points. One of the members of the ruling party said that Mrs. Gandhi is determined for this therefore, have faith in her, express solidarity in her and that will bring down the prices. Another Member, Shri H.K.L. Bhagat, hinted that emergency had brought down the price level. Shri Chavan has already contradicted it. He hinted that if need be there can be emergency also to fight the price rise. Another member was more clear to say that financial emergency should be declared. Another Member was still clearer that National Security Ordinance is the only recipe. Now, this is the attitude of the Government party and the cabinet. That being so, we on this

[Shri Chitta Basu]

side of the House, cannot but express our great and grave concern. There is a great danger ahead of us and the countrymen should know about the recipe by the ruling party to curb the price rise.

Now, there are certain basic reasons for the price rise, for example, increase in the RBI net credit to the Government, increase in the Government expenditure under non-developmental heads, shortage of critical inputs like coal, steel, oil, power, transport bottlenecks, high freight charges etc.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: These have already been mentioned.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: One important point has been stressed by my hon. friend, Shri Satish Agarwal and I only want to point that out to the House and to the Finance Minister and that is that the tax structure is one of the most responsible factors for the price rise. For example, the revenue received from central excise records abnormally alarming hikes. In 1950-51, the total amount of central excise was only Rs. 67 crores; in 1977-78, it rose to 4,447 crores.

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI C. M. STEPHEN): That is related to production also.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Population also.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: The revenue from customs duty in 1950-51 was Rs. 137 crores and it rose to Rs. 1,824 crores in 1977-78. The index of customs only in 1950-51 was 100 and it rose to 1161 in 1977-78 and 1792 in 1979-80. All this proves that unless you change the fiscal policy, unless you bring about radical changes in the economic policy, the price rise would be inevitable.

Before concluding, I would only say that if you are really willing to fight the price rise, think in terms of institutional changes, think in terms of

bringing about radical changes in the Government fiscal policy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now the Minister will reply.

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप (ग्वावला) : बराबर हमें टाइम नहीं दिया जा रहा है। आप हमारी पार्टी को नेग्लेक्ट कैसे कर सकते हैं ? हमारी पार्टी की उपेक्षा क्यों की जा रही है ? मुझे समय क्यों नहीं दिया जायेगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question has already taken double the time. The Opposition has exhausted all its time. The Ruling Party is also allotted time. Now the Minister will reply.

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप : हमें समय देना पड़ेगा ? यह कोई तरीका नहीं है कि एक पार्टी की इस तरह उपेक्षा की जाये। रोज यही तरीका अपनाया जा रहा है। कल और परसों भी मैंने नाम दिया था, लेकिन मुझे नहीं बुलाया गया। रोज यही स्थिति हो रही है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Honourable Member may take two or three minutes.

श्री जयपाल सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश में पिछले दस बारह महीनों में जो नीतियां चली हैं, उन्हीं के कारण महंगाई बढ़ी है और देश बर्बादी की तरफ बढ़ा है। पिछले दस ग्यारह महीनों के अनुभव से यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि मौजूदा सरकार और उसकी नीतियां इस देश की बढ़ती हुई महंगाई की समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकती हैं। आज किसान की क्या हालत हो रही है, वह सब को मालूम है। एक तरफ चीनी की कीमत देखिये और दूसरी तरफ किसानों को मिलने वाली कीमत देखिये। इस देश के नेता डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया, ने यह सीधा सिद्धांत बताया था कि जितने रुपये मन

चीनी हो, उतने घाने मन गन्ने की कीमत होनी चाहिए। भाज खाद की कीमत और पानी के रेट बढ़ रहे हैं। किसानों का बिजली नहीं मिल रही है। कीमतों व्यापारियों के हाथों में बढ़ रही हैं। अगर वे किसान के हाथों में बढ़ती, तो देश के लिए नतीजा अच्छा होता। अधिक कीमतों का पैसा किसानों को न मिलकर बड़े बड़े व्यापारियों की तिजोरियों में जा रहा है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकार इस समस्या को हल करने में समर्थ नहीं है। इस लिए सरकार को इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिए। और एक नेशनल गवर्नमेंट कायम करनी चाहिए। एक नेशनल गवर्नमेंट ही इस समस्या का समाधान कर सकती है।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have had a very useful debate. Personally I have benefited by the expression of views from different sections of the House. Actually I regarded this motion, not as one on prices, but as a mid-term appraisal of the economy of the country and from that point of view, the discussion has been quite wide, comprehensive, and has covered all aspects of the economy. Naturally, people would try to take advantage of certain situations and one should not object very much to such political advantage being taken. I am interested, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in clarifying to the House as well as to the country the state of economy of the country now and its prospects.

I do not want to give the impression that the government is not concerned with the current inflationary trend in the economy. We are as deeply concerned about the matter as the hon. members on all sides of the House are. Nor do I want to give the impression to the House or to the country that the government are com-

placent about the situation. I will detail, in the course of my reply, several steps that we have taken to tackle the situation. I shall also attempt an objective assessment of the success and the failure of these measures. At the same time, I want to point out that the situation is not as alarming as has been made out by some of the members.

During the budget debate, I mentioned that as a result of price hike of oil and oil products, there will be a rise in the price level in our country. I also mentioned that after the price hike in oil has played out, we will reach a plateau, a plateau in the sense that it will not be going on at the same rate at which the price has been rising, the rate will come down, ... (Interruptions) Anybody who knows about the behaviour of prices will know that they do not come to an abrupt end, anywhere in the world, and if they thought that is what I meant, I think, there must have been a misunderstanding of the situation. And I challenge this House to produce any country in the world where there was an abrupt stoppage of the price increase. On the contrary, I am going to read to the House the behaviour of prices in developed as well as developing countries and compare with what our situation is.

A number of members said and particularly my distinguished friend, Shri Agarwal that during the Janata regime, the prices remained constant and that the prices have become galloping after the Congress took over the administration. It is an old saying that statistics can be used as well as abused. In fact, there are different kinds of lies, lies, damn lies and statistics. It depends on how you use the figures.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is also true with you.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Yes. When I show the figures then you

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

will find that mine are the real statistics and the other are spurious statistics. (Interruptions) In 1973-74, there was an increase in price level by 20 per cent, in 1974-75, it rose by 25 per cent, which is a matter which my esteemed friend, Shri Chavansaheb mentioned. Then in 1975-76, for whatsoever reason, the most important being, as Chavansaheb himself said, a set of positive and firm measures taken by the government, the price level actually came down by—1.1 per cent. In 1976-77, it rose by 2.1 per cent, in 1977-78—this is the Janata period—it rose by 5.2 per cent, in 1978-79 it remained constant. In 1978-79 again, it is a combination of Janata, etc.—I do not know what distinction they are making but it is according to us only the same group—prices rose by 16.7 per cent. To say that during the Janata period prices did not rise is true only of one year. That according to us—because when we were sitting on the other side, we made this very point, my esteemed friend Subramaniam and myself—was because we left a buffer stock of nearly 12 million tonnes of food and Rs. 3000 crores of foreign exchange behind. You were the beneficiary of this great legacy, as a result of which prices remained static. In your administration, you adopted a policy of savage taxation, the consequence of which was the price rise. In that particular year prices rose by 16.7 per cent.

Now, if you want to compare statistics you must compare the likes, you cannot compare one period with another period. It is easy to mislead the people. I shall compare the figures. On 12th January 1980 this Government took over administration, on the 14th it took over but the results were announced on the 12th—I am talking right from the 12th. The inflation rate in 1979-80 from 12th January 1979 to 8th November 1979 was 19 per cent. The rate of inflation from 12th

January 1980 to 8th November 1980 was 13.9 per cent. I shall also give the figures of the cost of living index. Since January upto the end of September for which figures are available, during the Janata period Jan.—Sept., 1979 it rose by 9.3 per cent and during this administration it rose by 8.4 per cent. The price rise is a phenomenon which has two facets. One is the rise in the price level and the other is the prices of individual commodities. The rise in the price level is due to fiscal and monetary policies and the rise in individual commodity prices or group of commodity prices is the result of the inexorable law of supply and demand, so that when you start comparing, you should compare the price levels. If you want to attack the policies of the government, if you want to say that people are suffering, then you take individual commodities and say that as a result of certain factors such as supply and demand there has been an acute shortage of certain commodities and therefore prices have increased or decreased. I am now at the first point of the increase in price level and I have given figures which show that the increase in the price level has been definitely less than what it has been in the Janata regime. But I am not saying this as an excuse or an explanation, I am only answering the criticism my esteemed friend Satish among others had made: "During your period the prices have increased whereas in our period it did not". That is totally incorrect. Now, why is this increase in price level? It is one due to extraneous circumstances, namely, price of oil. In every country in the world prices rose as a result of the hike in price of oil. My esteemed friend Shri Dandavate said that the price increase as a result of oil is only two per cent. I am afraid, his statistics are wrong. The increase in the prices as a result of hike of price of oil which we did in June has been 21 per cent of the total increase during the current financial year (upto November 1, 1980). Of the 11.3 per cent increase

during this period, one-fifth is due to oil prices.

The same situation applies to a number of other countries which have been forced to use oil. These are the figures furnished by IMF on the movement in consumer price index. From December, 1979 to June, 1980; in U.S.A. there has been increase of 7.7 per cent, in U.K. it is 11 per cent, in India it is 3.2 per cent. I don't want to read other countries. In Argentina it was 41.7 per cent. In Indonesia it is 9 per cent. There is only one country which has been lower than India and that is Malaysia, it is 2.6 per cent, i.e. 0.6 per cent lower. In Mexico it is 15 per cent, Pakistan it is 6.6 per cent, Phillipines it is 7 per cent.

I have also got figures in respect of cost of living in these various countries. (Interruptions).

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I think he is speaking only for the capitalist countries.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: You can raise all that. I will not leave that. I am coming to other countries. I am giving some hard knocks to you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is coming to you. He said, he is coming to you.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: These are the figures of the *London Economist*. It gives the increases from July to September in the cost of living index over the previous three months. In Australia for these three months it has been 8 per cent, Canada 12 per cent, France 13.5 per cent and Italy 18 per cent., Sweden 10 per cent, USA 7.9 per cent, U.K. it is 9 per cent, India it is 4.4 per cent. Only two countries are below. One is Japan which is 4 per cent, i.e. .4 per cent less. The other is West Germany which is 2 per cent. You know the economy of West Germany. I am not saying that those countries have

increased, therefore we must have also taken that step, but what I am saying is that it is an international phenomenon brought by an extraneous element, namely, oil prices, and we cannot be insulated from the effect of such prices. You are aware that we are importing 16 million tonnes of crude oil from other countries, our production is only 14 million tonnes. Sixteen millions bear the impact of international inflation. And, therefore it is obvious that there will be an impact of the international factors of our country also. However, my submission is considering what the international rate of inflation has been, we have managed to contain the rate of inflation, though a poverty stricken country like ours cannot afford even this kind of inflation. We should endeavour to further control it. There can be no two opinions about it. But then to say that we will be able to do something of a miracle when we are living in a world in which the circumstances occurring in other parts of the world have a very direct impact on our economy is something which is not reasonable to accept.

Now, I come to the frictional fluctuations in prices. That is caused by demand and supply factors. Three things have contributed to nearly one fourth of the 11.3 per cent increase in our prices. Sugar, khandsari, gur, edible oils—this is one set of factors. Unfortunately, it was due to the erroneous policy pursued by the earlier Government when they had a sugar production of as much as 65 lakh tonnes, which the positive policies of Government previous to that had created. They could have learnt a lesson from that, but the Janata Government frittered away the stock by indiscriminate releases. This is exactly the point which was made by my friend, Shri Dandavate himself. He put it in a different way, but the meaning was the same. When they had 65 lakh tonnes of sugar production and when the releases could have

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

been of the order of 4 to 4½ lakh tonnes every month, i.e., 55 lakh tonnes a year, it would have been easy for that Government to have created a buffer stock of 10 lakh tonnes of sugar. They did not do it. Not only that. They indiscriminately released the sugar and brought down the price of sugar to Rs. 2.25 per kilo. which was below the cost of production. The result was, people did not offer the right price for the cane and the next year, the cane cultivation was diverted to other crops. So, next year we had only 58 lakh tonnes and in the year when we took over, there was a production of only 38 lakh tonnes. With this shortage, we had to manage. No amount of public distribution, no amount of jugglery can convert a shortage into a surplus. It can only mitigate the suffering. But there it was—an acute shortage caused by the wrong policies of the previous Government and we had to handle a situation where there was a production of only 38 lakh tonnes of sugar.

Out of these 38 lakh tonnes, two-thirds was distributed under the levy system at Rs. 2.85 per kilo. There have been abuses in it. But that quantity was really set apart for distribution at Rs. 2.85. It is only one-third which was sold at the market rate, the rate at which people could afford to buy. When every day people read in the newspapers that the price of sugar was Rs. 10 or 12 and so on, they conveniently forgot that two-third of the quantity of sugar was available at Rs. 2.85 at the levy price and only one-third was sold at the higher price. It is inherent in a dual policy system in which the weaker section of the society is subsidised at a lower price and the more affluent section of the society is allowed to pay a higher price if they want to have the luxury of a larger quantity. When all of you were pleading for the person who paid Rs. 10 per kilo, did you realise that you were

pleading for the affluent section and not for the poorer section? This is the real situation.

Then with regard to edible oils and all that, owing to the drought over which neither you nor I have any control, there had been a considerably lower production and the shortage of edible oils and oil-seeds created a situation in which we had to import as much as Rs. 600 to 700 crores worth of edible oil and others to meet the situation. These three items again accounted for one-fourth in the price rise of 11.3 per cent. The next is vegetables and pulses which has gone up in sympathy with other articles of consumption. There again because of drought, the vegetables were not available in plenty as in the previous year. If you leave that, all the other manufactured articles and other items put together did not have more than 30 per cent of this 11.3 per cent price rise.

I would plead with the House not to create a scare among the public that the prices are going on galloping. After the prices have worked themselves out right upto July, thereafter in August, the increase was 1.1 per cent and in September 1 per cent. Again, in October, it is 0.6 per cent. When I mentioned it in some of the international conferences, they said that they envy this country, they would like to have this kind of stability in their own country. I want to make it clear that for three months when the rate of increase has been around 1 per cent, this is not a small achievement. That is why, I said that the rate of inflation had come down. Wherever I went, I wanted to dispel from the minds of the public a wrong impression that the prices were galloping. After all, psychology plays a much higher part in price levels than even supplies. If you create a psychology of scarcity, then every householder will become a hoarder. And in a vast country like ours, if there

is house-hold hoarding, then the prices cannot be controlled. It is a habit in all developing countries to build houses with store rooms. If you go to any of the developed countries you will find one thing missing. There are no store rooms in their houses. The store-room is the super-market.

They make purchases every week from the super-market.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is because of availability.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: It is because of availability, no doubt. But I say that this psychology of scarcity will lead to so much hoarding that all the efforts that you make to get over the situation, will be frustrated.

There is also another factor, something which is totally different from the economic theories which we have studied in schools and colleges. The elementary principle that we study in schools is that when the prices rise, demand falls there is what is known as the elasticity of demand. But in all developing countries I have found that when prices rise, the demand increases, because there is apprehension in the minds of the people that this item will not be available hereafter, therefore, they must grab as much as possible when it is available. When the prices fall, people think that already it is falling, let us postpone the purchase, buy it later. Therefore, when you have to deal with situations in different countries, you have to adapt your policies to the situations in your respective countries, and not go by the theoretical considerations which one has. It is my humble submission to this House that the price rise, which in the last month was, 0.6 per cent, if it is maintained, is a great achievement for a developing country, because no other developing country has been able to achieve it.

You may ask me, what is it that you have been doing in order to con-

tain the prices, which is the next step which I have to take. In this connection, you have mentioned about the Infrastructure Committee, of which I am the Chairman. Every week the Infrastructure Committee meets and then monitors the supply of coal to power stations, the production of coal in the various collieries and the distribution and transport of these things to the various priority sectors.

To illustrate the success of this Committee, I will only mention one thing. After this Committee had been constituted, not a single power station in the whole of India has had to shut down for even a day for want of coal in that power station. I do not want to compare it with the position when the things were not so before. The Infrastructure Committee, again, has organised increased production of coal and I expect, if things go on at the rate at which they have been behaving, that we will be able to produce about 110 million to 112 million tonnes of coal, as against 103 million to 104 million tonnes which we are producing. We are also expecting that the power generation will go up at least by another 10 per cent. This is the very small, very humble performance of the Infrastructure Committee.

The outlook for the economy is also bright. In the next year, thanks to the monsoon, our food production will go up by 10 per cent. We may reach about 131 million to 132 million tonnes of food, which is a record high so far. Our industrial production, which I projected during the budget would be of the order of 6 to 8 per cent, will not reach that level, because the rate of industrial production has not picked up as expected. I will come to the causes later on. In my view, it may go up only by 4 per cent. In the budget presentation I said that the GNP will go up by 5 per cent. I hope we will definitely be able to reach 4 per cent; I do hope that we will still be able to reach 5 per cent in the rest of the months if the production goes up.

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

20.00 hrs.

So far as the constraints on production are concerned, one of the disturbing factors has been labour relations. There has not been a good amount of output from various investments already made on account of mandays lost due to bad industrial relations. We are trying our utmost to see that it is improved. There are a member of Labour organisation where demands for revision of wages are coming up. I am appealing to them that if they increase productivity along with the revision of wages we would be able to maintain what we have promised to this House and to the country. I would earnestly request for the good offices of the hon. friends who have something to do with the labour organisations to exert their best to see that while we are agreeing to the wage revisions, there in a commitment for higher productivity, a better return as a result of it.

A number of points were made saying that 'you have not handled the black money properly and therefore, the prices have increased'. Sir, it is true we have not been able to control blackmoney. Neither I have been able to control nor my friend. Prof. Dandavate during their government had been able to control.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
There was a decontrol!

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: In fact during their regime, they could have tried this demonitisation which they are now proffering on a platter to us. (Interruptions). If that is the trick. I will demonitise one-rupee notes. We must attack the problem in the spirit. Now, it is not possible for anybody to make an estimate of the black money. Everything is a 'guestimate'. In fact, even the Wanchoo Committee Report which I used to quote profusely against you, did not say how much black money there is. It only said that on the basis of the facts arrived at, it can be this. Tax evasion is not the basis. (Interruptions) The black

money is not the result of only tax evasion. It is a wrong impression that is prevailing. Black money arises out of the difference between the controlled rate and the market rate and therefore, that goes into the black money which nobody can estimate. Nobody can estimate it. Therefore, I am unable to say, and I have truthfully said that it is not possible to estimate how much it is. We have done the traditional things. For instance, in order to unearth black money, during this period we have carried out 1,807 raids as against your performance of 845. Then, as far as the amount unearthed is concerned, the seizure amount during our period was Rs. 866 lakhs as against Rs. 334 lakhs by you.

I can also tell you what we have done. Normally I would not have disclosed these things, but once you are charged with neglect of duty, you have to come out. In February, 1980, we conducted a raid on stockists and suppliers of petroleum and petroleum products in a number of places. In August, 1980, we carried out a raid against dealers in edible oils and sugar. In September again, a large-scale raid was conducted against dealers in fertilisers. Again, in November we conducted large-scale raids and seizures of edible oils and pulses. We have been doing more than what has been done in the corresponding period last year. Therefore, you cannot say that the Government is complacent about it or that the Government is soft towards these hoarders.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Is that the only yardstick?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: We tried to see how much we can do to unearth black money. I have given the total figure of Rs. 8 crores. Unfortunately, the ways in which people keep black money have become very dubious and rather devious. They do not keep them any longer in jewellery, silver, rupees or notes. They keep them in stocks, and it becomes very

difficult to find out whether the stocks are within the limit or outside the limit. whether it is sugar or cement, they keep them in various names and at different places, so that it is a perpetual race between the Government and the hoarder. We are doing our best in this regard.

We are also improving the public distribution system, whatever we have and we have increased the number of public distribution outlets by 31,000 during this year. The public distribution system had been, unfortunately, dismantled in respect of sugar by the previous Government, and we had to rebuild the same, and there was difficulty in rebuilding it in a short period. The public distribution system was well in a few States—for instance in Kerala, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Gujarat. In other States the co-operatives do not work well and, therefore, the distribution system is also not very effective. It will be our constant endeavour to improve the co-operative and see that the public distribution system becomes a permanent feature of our economy.

I said about the way in which inflation is handled, it is by attacking it from two ways—one from the supply angle and the other from the demand angle. So far as demand angle is concerned, we have drastically reduced the money supply during this period. Actually during this period, the money supply went down by Rs. 1017 crores as against Rs. 1637 crores additional which was created by the previous Government during the corresponding period. We cannot overdo anything—even contraction of currency—because then it will have adverse effect on the normal trade and normal commercial transactions. Therefore, we have tried to do the best in the circumstances by reducing the money supply and this is the level which has been reached.

Lastly, I would like to mention one or two things. There is a contradiction always in economy. In fact it is an old dictum that society progresses by a method of contradiction. Unless there is contradiction, there will be no progress.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE:
Dialectically.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Development through contradiction.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: The contradiction here is that we have to give remunerative prices to the producers, if you give remunerative price to the producers, it has to be reflected in the selling price. If it is not reflected in the selling price. then it must be made up by subsidy. Then the subsidy must come from taxation.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: From black money also. Have a hold over tax evasion.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: You will try all your experiments when you come to power.

The fact that we cannot levy very heavy taxes, that point has been made by my esteemed friend Shri Satish Agarwal himself. In fact, people become wise after they leave office. It was a bitter fight with us last year when we were objecting to the savage indirect taxes. I hope he had no say in the matter, I know that.

The problem is, in an economy in which the taxable capacity of the people is very low, direct taxation is very difficult and almost impossible. Direct taxes can be levied only on those who have a taxable capacity, who have wealth. When the number of people who have taxable capacity is low, then you cannot levy direct taxes. If you levy very heavy rates of direct taxes, then it leads to evasion, black money and all other consequences. The other alternative is to go in for deficit financing. If you go in for deficit

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

financing, the prices rise without your control over it and everybody in the community pays. For the person, who uses the commodity whether it is oil seeds, whether it is cloth, whether it is food, the entire community will pay indirectly by way of increased price level consequent on the inflation brought about by the deficit financing. Therefore, we are now left with what to do. What do we do? If we do not increase the prices, these consequences follow. The prices will increase willy-nilly. So, we arrive at some sort of a compromise, increase the prices to some extent, not increase the prices wholly, and absorb the increase to some extent. That is what we have done in the case of fertiliser and in the case of oil. We have absorbed about one-third; we have passed on about two-thirds. This is the kind of adjustment which we go on making depending upon the state of economy. If, added to that, the States also indulge in deficit financing, that means, running in overdrafts on the Reserve Bank, then it becomes impossible for the Centre to control the money supply.

It is very unfortunate that some States are running perpetually in overdrafts. Some people seem to think that overdrafts are an additional plan resource. I am not saying about any particular State on this side or on the other side also. We have to see that there is a certain measure of discipline brought in this. Otherwise, the deficit which the country will face will be more than what I put forward in the Budget as deficit financing. Mr. Y. B. Chavan made it very clear and he brought out by saying "You are running into a deficit of Rs. 1400 crores" that is not the end of it and that there are other deficits which will crop up.

In the end, I will assure my hon. friend, Prof. Dandavate, that in any event the deficit financing will not go upto Rs. 3000 crores. The one factor which has really upset my calculations is the Assam situation. I

did not bargain for that kind of a situation. When I made certain calculations and said that this will be the pattern of behaviour of the economy, I did not realise that the Assam situation would continue like this for about a year. The hon. Members are aware that we have lost at the rate of Rs. 2 crores every day upto now. That is a direct loss. There are indirect losses also. Over and above that, just because there is an agitation, we cannot hold back our responsibilities. Therefore, we have given them additional Rs. 40 crores for meeting their current deficits and also we have increased the plan resources so that communications may improve. These are all imponderables which occurred after the Budget was presented. Nevertheless, I am quite positive and I assure my hon. friend, Prof. Dandavate, that we will not reach the figure of Rs. 3000 crores as deficit financing. The credit of having achieved the highest deficit ever in history shall always remain with the Janata Government and nobody else. After this very useful discussion, I would request my esteemed friend, Prof. Dandavate, to withdraw the resolution.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will take only a few minutes after such a long debate.

After listening to hon. Members on both the sides and, particularly, the hon. Minister of Finance. I feel that there should be no difficulty in un-animously adopting this motion because, when the hon. Finance Minister was speaking, he began with a remark that we are deeply concerned about the inflationary situation and the same sentiment was expressed by hon. Members from both the sides irrespective of their party considerations. What the motion expresses is the concern over the inflationary situation, rising prices, and urges that the Government should take urgent concrete steps. That is

all it says. No aspersions have been cast in this motion. I do not understand why this motion should not be adopted, as Comrade Bhogendra Jha rightly pointed out.

Secondly, some of the Members, while participating in the debate, attributed political motives to this motion. We do not want to politicalise this issue at all because, fortunately or unfortunately, the present Government gives us ample opportunity to raise debates on political issues, whether there should be a Parliamentary form of Government or a Presidential form of Government, what is the role of the judiciary, whether the hands of a single individual should be strengthened, and so on. All those issues are there. Therefore, they are giving us ample opportunity to fight them politically, to raise political issues and have political debates. Therefore, we will not come by backdoor by bringing in economic issues to discuss political problems. I can assure the hon. Finance Minister that, if we have to attack them politically, we will do it directly, honestly and with integrity, without choosing the backdoors or jumping through the windows.

As far as the Finance Minister's reply is concerned, he made one comment which was very unfortunate. He made the allegation that the Janata Government had squandered away the foreign exchange reserves...

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI C. M. STEPHEN): He did not say that. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is alright. Then I am happy about it.

As regards his constant comparison between the performance of Janata Government and that of the present Government—I wanted to avoid those figures—I had myself asked a question in the month of August, 1980, in this House in which I asked as to what

was the position when the Janata Party came to power and what was the position when it handed over the power to the ad hoc Government supported by them, what was the position about the rate of annual industrial growth, national income and per capita income. The reply was that, when the Janata Government was in power, the rate of industrial growth was 7.6 per cent and the latest available figure—I was told in writing by the Finance Minister—was minus 0.9 per cent. I was under the impression that 'minus' was the compositor's or typist's mistake; so, I again checked it, and it was correct. Regarding national income, we were told that, when the Janata Party was in power, the annual rate of growth of national income was 4.1 per cent and after we handed over the power, the latest available figure given to us was minus 3 per cent. I want to put the record straight because again and again there is the tendency to compare the performance of the Janata Government with that of the present Government. That is the only reason why I have brought this problem into the picture.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I have replied to this during the Budget.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is alright. A hope, you will be presenting the next Budget.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I do not think! (*Interruptions*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There is one more aspect. I myself made the revelation, and I think he admitted that I said it indirectly. I did not say it indirectly. I said that, when the release mechanism, which was retained in the Janata Government, was later on actually removed, really speaking, the stocks of quotas that were not to be made available to the States over and above their requirement and consumption, were made available and that resulted in smuggling, that created artificial scarcity, and as a result of that also, an

element of increase in prices was introduced. I have already admitted that point, and on that also there is no difference.

As regards levy sugar, he tried to point out that only two-third of the total quota of sugar was made available for levy sugar and only one-third for open market, and he said that the vulnerable sections were mainly concerned with the quota available from the fair price shops. But I want to tell him—I myself have experienced this and that must be the experience of a number of hon. Members irrespective of their party affiliations—that, during the puja festivals whether it was Durga Puja or Diwali, in Maharashtra and Gujarat it was our common experience, though you said that cheap sugar was available at the controlled rate in fair price shops, that quite a large number of fair price shops were there where stocks were not available at all. So, theoretically, you made the levy sugar available at controlled rate, but in reality, the fair price shops were neither fair nor shops. There was only a board that they were fair price shops. There were long queues and half the number of people had to go without any levy sugar. That was actually what had happened. He himself admitted it. I am happy about it. There are two ways of looking at the problem. Either you take the general price level or you pick up certain commodities with which the vulnerable sections are concerned. We are concerned with the vulnerable sections of the society. We are very proud about it. Therefore, when we picked up certain essential commodities. I narrated to the House what exactly is the rise that has taken place in these commodities. It is not because these commodities were attractive from our point of view. But these were the commodities with which the vulnerable sections of the society are deeply concerned.

That is why I picked up those commodities and I am glad that here he

had to accept it. That too because he himself made a statement on the floor of the House that this was the increase in price. All that I did was this. He is an economist but I am a physicist. He gave only the commodity index figure. I calculated it with the help of the calculator as to what are the percentages of increase in the index figure. That is the only homework that I did. You yourself made a statement here on the 21st November, 1980 and therefore, taking the totality of the picture and various points that were raised, I think there should be unanimity in the House that we should express concern about the rise in prices and I request the Government that urgent steps should be taken. Therefore, Sir, I commend this motion to unanimous adoption by the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Shamanna, are you pressing?

SHRI T. R. SHAMANNA: I have been asked to perform this duty. I am sorry that it is too late. I do not want to take much time of the House...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Are you withdrawing your amendment?

SHRI T. R. SHAMANNA: I am not withdrawing my amendment.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Then, I shall put amendment No. 1 moved by Shri T. R. Shamanna to the vote.

Amendment No. 1 was put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the Motion.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I would request him again not to press his motion because this is a matter about which all of us are agreed.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let it be put to the vote. I am not going to press for a division.

Postponement of

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Let it be rejected by a voice vote. We will not press for the division.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the motion.

The question is:

"That this House expresses its concern at the continuing rise in the prices of essential commodities including sugar and urges upon the Government to take effective steps to curb the price rise."

The motion was negatived.

20.29 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE: POSTPONE-
MENT OF HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUS-
SION RE: FILM ON MAHATMA
GANDHI

film on Mahatma Gandhi

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Members are aware that a Half-an-Hour Discussion regarding Film on Mahatma Gandhi has been included in the List of Business for 26th November, 1980. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting has requested that the discussion might be postponed. Both the Member and Minister are agreeable to its postponement to 28th November, 1980. This discussion will accordingly be postponed to the 28th November, 1980.

The House stands adjourned to reassemble at 11 A.M. tomorrow.

20.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, November 26, 1980/Agrahayana 5, 1902 (Saka).